











1896

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# THE GREAT CAMPAIGN

OR

## Political Struggles

OF

### PARTIES, LEADERS AND ISSUES

COVERING EVERY PHASE OF

THE VITAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY; PROTECTION; THE  
GOLD STANDARD; FREE SILVER COINAGE; BOND  
ISSUES AND SPECIE RESUMPTION, ETC., ETC.

INCLUDING

**Platforms of all Parties and Biographies  
of the Presidential Candidates**

TOGETHER WITH

A PORTRAIT GALLERY OF NATIONAL CELEBRITIES—COM  
PRISING PHOTOTYPE AND OTHER PORTRAITS OF  
ALL FORMER PRESIDENTS AND ACTIVE  
STATESMEN OF THE DAY

THE WHOLE FORMING A

**Complete Handbook of Political Information  
Voter's Guide and Instructor**

BY LAWRENCE F. PRESCOTT

The well-known author

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LOYAL PUBLISHING CO.

PUBLISHERS.

1896

# THE GREAT CAMPAIGN

Political Struggles

PARTIES, LEADERS, AND ISSUES

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Illustrations of all parties and leaders  
of the Presidential campaign

A PORTFOLIO OF THE  
POLITICAL STRUGGLES  
OF THE GREAT CAMPAIGN  
OF 1896

Complete Handbook of Political Information  
For the Year and Election

BY G. W. BERTRON

100 ALBANY, N. Y.

1896

## PREFACE.

THIS comprehensive volume treats fully every great issue, every party and every question, that enter into the political campaign of 1896. It attacks no man's creed and upholds the banner of no party; but placing every party and its principles, with its leaders, upon its own platform, and bringing the several parties, platforms and champions in their true light before the mind of the reader, the intelligent citizen will, in this book, be enabled to view and compare them side by side and judge of their respective claims upon his vote as an American citizen.

A vast storehouse of truth, plain, simple and unvarnished, makes this book an unequalled source of information upon the great issues of this campaign, suited to the wants of every voter irrespective of party and without partisan bias.

It tells the story of former Presidents, political parties and statesmen, and shows the causes of their successes and failures. In the light of the past and the revelations of truth as here set forth, the voter is enabled to gain a clearer view of the situation and to cast his vote intelligently and wisely upon the great issues of "High Protection" *versus* "Tariff for Revenue Only," "A Gold Standard of Currency" *versus* "Bimetallism and the Free and Unlimited

Coinage of Silver," "Prohibition" *versus* "A Licensed Liquor Traffic." These momentous questions are eloquently discussed and expounded by the great champions and apostles of each doctrine.

Since the rising war cloud of 1859-60 which deluged our country in the blood of brothers, our nation has not been so agitated, divided and excited as it is to-day from ocean to ocean—North, South, East and West—on the coinage question. This must necessarily be the great issue of this campaign; and its settlement is fraught with threatenings and omens which indicate political combinations, upheavals and surprises which our shrewdest politicians seem unmindful of or unwilling to recognize.

Since 1873 the mutterings of discontent have been growing louder between the advocates of gold and bi-metal standards. During the past three years, these mutterings have grown into clamorous shouts and peremptory demands on both sides.

The tariff constitutes the next great issue. Unexpectedly it is being intricately woven into the fabric of the coinage question, and silver advocates of the West declare free coinage only a just offset against protected manufactures in the East. All the old battle ground must be gone over and new battles on new fields must be fought on this question.

Every intelligent reader will here find just the information most needed to help him to a wise and patriotic decision.



## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
HON. WILLIAM McKINLEY . . . . .	17
HON. GARRET A. HOBART . . . . .	47
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1896 . . . . .	55
HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN . . . . .	89
HON. ARTHUR SEWALL . . . . .	105
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1896 . . . . .	111
CONVENTION OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY . . . . .	145
HON. JOSHUA LEVERING . . . . .	155
HON. HALE JOHNSON . . . . .	157
CELEBRATED POLITICAL LEADERS . . . . .	167
HON. CHARLES E. BENTLEY . . . . .	249
HON. JAMES H. SOUTHGATE . . . . .	256
HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES . . . . .	262



	PAGE
THE TWO TARIFF BILLS . . . . .	280
OPINIONS OF LEADING STATESMEN ON THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE DAY . . . . .	289
INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT ALL OUR PRESIDENTS .	337



PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY



MRS. WILLIAM MCKINLEY

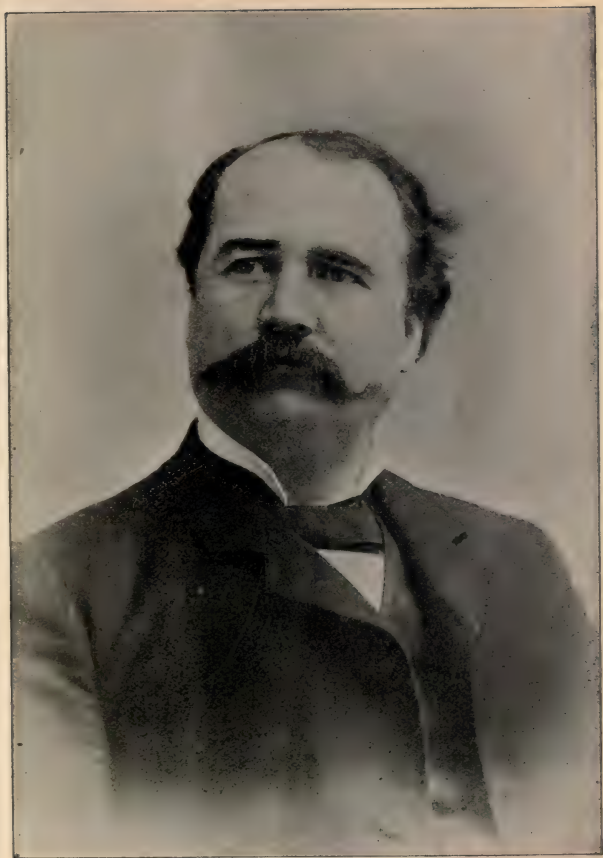


WILLIAM J. BRYAN



MRS. W. J. BRYAN





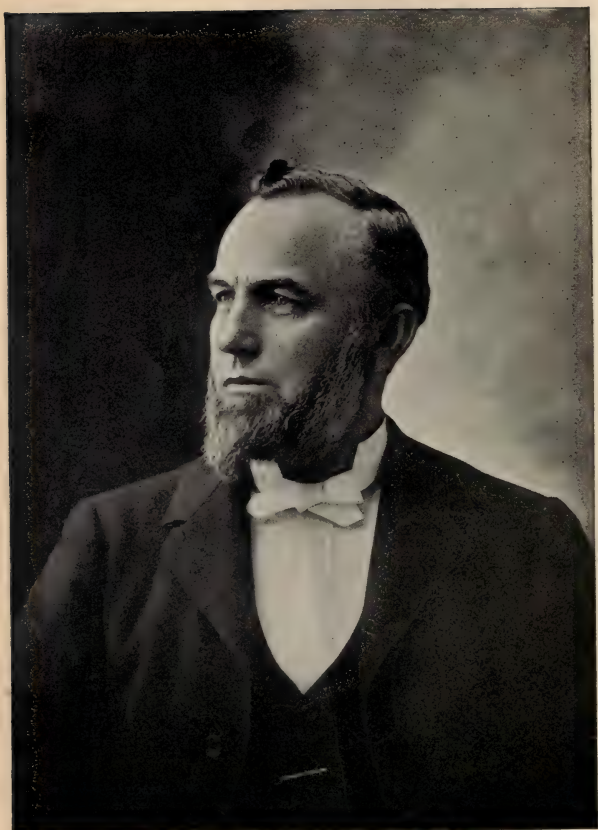
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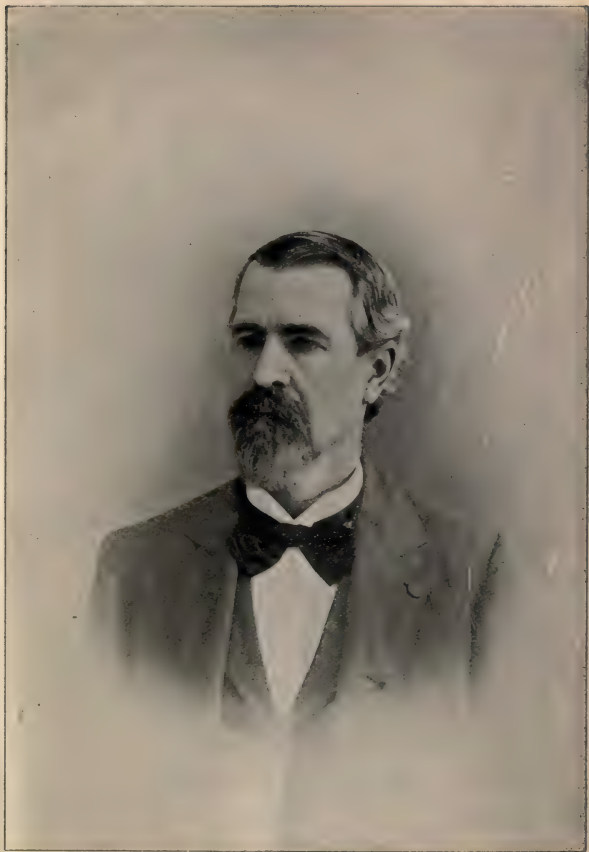
ARTHUR SEWALL.



JOSHUA LEVERING



CHARLES E. BENTLEY



HALE JOHNSON





JAMES H. SOUTHGATE



JOHN SHERMAN



MATTHEW S. QUAY



THOMAS B. REED



HENRY M. TELLER





RICHARD P. BLAND



WILLIAM V. ALLEN

# HON. WILLIAM McKINLEY.

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Republican Nominee for the Presidency.

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## His Life and Public Services.

**S**ELDOM in the public life of the statesmen of this republic has the wisdom of pertinacious, continuous application to one broad issue of national policy as a road to highest preferment been so completely approved as in the career of William McKinley, nominated for President by the St. Louis Convention. Twice his conspicuous championship of protection and home markets for American workmen has almost stampeded conventions to his nomination, when acceptance would have been violative of the high stand, and of personal honor, which has marked his public and private life.

Quiet, dignified, modest, considerate of others, ever ready to postpone his own ambitions in favor of those of veterans of longer service, faithful to friends, unwavering in integrity, tactful in silencing opposition, but unyielding in matters of principle, strong in his sympathy with the toilers, unchanged by success, resilient in hope under defeat, of un-

spotted private life, he has won his way to the top as one of the best examples of courageous, persevering, vigorous manhood that the nation has ever produced.

More than any other who has reached his proud pre-eminence, save only Abraham Lincoln, his touch is closest with those "plain people" upon whom the martyred President relied with such unhesitating confidence.

While yet a youth he marched in the ranks, a private soldier, and saw four years of the bloody struggle which made the country all free. In poverty he wrought to acquire his profession. These years of self-denial brought with them the self-reliance and self-control which fruited in his leadership on the floor of Congress at an age when no other American save Henry Clay had ever achieved similar prominence.

He bore his part in great debates in a manner quiet, self-possessed and dignified. His incisive logic, caustic raillery at antagonists, and sarcastic comments on the shortcomings of his own party gave him a mastery in debate which won the admiration even of those who opposed him. Mr. McKinley's personality, like his career, is the fruit of a peculiarly logical and systematic character. Where others knew superficially he knew thoroughly.

This thoroughness and skill in handling a slen-

der majority of twenty-two enabled him to pass that tariff bill which bears his name, which found less favor when enacted than it has enjoyed since its revision. He now stands as the embodiment and apostle of that principle.

### Strong Hold on the Masses.

It is not easy always to analyze the causes of a popular favorite's hold upon the masses. High principle, personal magnetism, gallantry, boldness even to rashness, great skill in debate or ability as a platform orator—all these may in turn be cited as reasons why a man should be liked or respected. But to awake the love and warmest admiration of a people requires qualities which well nigh defy analysis. It has been Mr. McKinley's good fortune to be able to offer a very large class of his fellow-citizens just what they seemed to need.

He aroused and attracted their sympathies, and this tremendous logical fact is what brought about the overwhelming ground-swell which swept other aspirants off their feet, and landed him an easy winner over men of larger public service and greater brilliance in many of the attributes of statesmanship. "All things come to him who waits," and William McKinley's self-denial stands a chance of receiving its great reward.

Mr. McKinley has a long expectation of life if the longevity of his parents can be taken as an

indication. His father, William McKinley, Sr., died in 1893, at the ripe age of 85, and his mother, Mrs. Nancy McKinley, still lives in Canton, the proud recipient of the unceasing filial attentions of her distinguished son. Mrs. Nancy McKinley's father was of German birth, and her mother was of Scotch descent. William McKinley, Sr.'s, grandfather was a Scotch-Irishman, and his mother was an Englishwoman. Mr. McKinley, Sr., was born in Mercer County, Pa., but his family moved to New Lisbon, Columbiana County, O., in 1809, where for many years he was manager of a blast furnace.

It was in New Lisbon that he met his wife, whom he married in 1838. Two sons, David and James, were born there, but owing to lack of educational facilities the father established his family in a little house in Niles, Trumbull County. It was in this house that William McKinley was born, February 26, 1844. It is worth remark that a considerable number of prominent Americans were natives of counties of Ohio in the near vicinity of Niles.

Cuyahoga, thirty miles away, was the birthplace of James A. Garfield. Senator Allison, of Iowa, lived only thirty miles from Canton, and Senator Manderson, of Nebraska, lived and married only fifteen miles from that city. Ex-Senator Thomas Collier Platt kept store at one time in Massillon,

only eight miles away, and Senator Quay's home at Beaver is only sixty miles off. Rutherford B. Hayes was a native of Delaware County, near by, and Senator Sherman and General William T. Sherman were born and reared at Lancaster, O., less than a hundred miles away.

Several of Mr. McKinley's brothers and sisters died in infancy. His oldest brother, David, is a resident of San Francisco, where he discharges the duty of Hawaiian Consul to the United States. James, the next older brother, died about 1890. Abner, a younger brother, is engaged in business in New York. William McKinley entered the village school in Poland, to which his family had removed, when only five years old. He remained in the schools of that town until in his seventeenth year, when he made enough money by teaching in a near by district public school to pay his matriculation fees in Allegheny College.

He remained at the college only a few weeks when the call to arms for the Civil War came, and the pale-faced, grey-eyed, earnest and patriotic young student flung aside his books and decided to shoulder a musket for the preservation of the Union. This step was taken only after earnest conference with his parents. Owing to his youth and physical immaturity they were loath to consent to interruption of his studies and the incident exposure to the hardships of campaigning.



But the enthusiastic patriotism of the youth kindled like emotion in the Scotch-Irish blood of his parents and bore down their opposition, for they saw that in spite of his youth there was plenty of fighting stuff in him. And so his education in books ended, and that broader education of stirring events and the ways of men began.

### A Private in the Ranks.

Young McKinley entered the Union army a mere stripling, without influence or powerful friends, with only a heart brimful of patriotism and love for his flag. He joined a company of volunteers from his own neighborhood, which, after the fashion of the time, took the pretentious name of "The Poland Guards." The company had already selected its officers. The captain, a youth named Zimmerman, was chosen because of brief service in a Pennsylvania militia company, in which he had learned the facings and a few other rudiments of the school of the soldier. He was the only man in the company who had any military training whatever.

Another young fellow named Race was first lieutenant, and J. L. Botsford, second lieutenant. This company was mustered into the volunteer service at Columbus by General John C. Fremont in June, 1861, and was attached to the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, of which William

S. Rosecranz was colonel and Rutherford B. Hayes major.

The regiment saw service first in General George B. McClellan's campaign in the Kanawha, which wrested West Virginia from the parent State and added another star to the sisterhood of States. It was a campaign of few battles, hard marches and plenty of experience in the hardships of soldiering. Of the fourteen months which McKinley served in the ranks he recently said: "I always look back with pleasure on those fourteen months of soldiering. They taught me a great deal. I was only a school-boy when I entered the ranks, and that year was the formative period of my life, during which I learned much of men and affairs. I have always been glad that I entered the service as a private."

Promotion came to him after Antietam. During that battle he was acting commissary for his company, and in the heat of the fight he took cooked rations to the front to feed his hungry comrades who had been in battle line for twenty-four hours. The fighters fell back in squads to refresh themselves, and were loud in praises of McKinley's thoughtfulness. He obtained furlough a few days after the battle.

On his way home he passed through Columbus and paid his respects to Governor Tod, who surprised the young volunteer by presenting him with a

second lieutenant's commission. General Hayes, who had been wounded at the battle, was home and recommended the promotion. This was September 24, 1862. February 7, 1863, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and on July 25, 1864, captain. This latter promotion was supplemented by his appointment as adjutant-general of his brigade, and he remained upon the staff until mustered out in July, 1865.

It was as assistant adjutant-general that he went through Sheridan's famous campaigns in the Shenandoah Valley. While on his way to Winchester Sheridan found young McKinley, then only 20 years old, rallying the panic-stricken troops at Cedar Creek, and at Berryville the young officer's horse was killed under him. "For gallant and meritorious services at the battle of the Opique, Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill," reads his commission as brevet-major, and it is signed "A. Lincoln."

Thus William McKinley, at a time of his life when most young men are at school or preparing for professional life, had experience in over four years of active warfare and had contributed as many years of his life to active military service of his country as any veteran of the Civil War. This is one of the potent holds he has upon the young men of the country who have steadily held him in view as a paragon of youthful courage and patriotism.

### Enters the Profession of Law.

The war over, McKinley found himself at 22, a man without a profession and without means to live on. Military life still had many fascinations for him, and a commission in the regular army was within the reach of the influence he was now able to exert. That would at least provide him with a living, and the temptation was strong. His sister, Miss Anna McKinley, a woman of fine judgment and strong character, had already established herself as a school teacher in Canton, O., and she proved to be the pioneer of the McKinley family in Stark County. It was largely due to her forceful arguments that the young soldier laid off his uniform and devoted himself to study of the law.

This period of three years between the time he left the military service in 1865 and the day he received his diploma from the Law School at Albany, N. Y., in 1868, is one of which few facts are known. The man who knows all about the difficulties and struggles with lean purse and long ambition that marked those years has never taken any one into his confidence concerning them. He had the advantage of the law library of Judge Glidden, in whose office he was entered as law student. That able jurist took great interest in his pupil and gave him freely of his knowledge.

When the young man was at last admitted to the bar Judge Glidden gave him his first case.

It came about thus: McKinley had found a hole in the wall outside of which he stuck up his shingle as a lawyer. A fortnight passed and so did all clients. Then Judge Glidden handed the half-discouraged young attorney a bundle of papers with the remark:—

“Mac, here are the papers in a case which is coming up to-morrow. I have to go out of town and you must try it.”

“I have never tried a case yet, you know, Judge!” McKinley replied.

“Well, begin on this one then,” Glidden answered. McKinley began work at once, and after studying the case all night went to court next day and won the suit. Glidden called at his office a few days afterward and handed McKinley \$25, which he refused to take.

“It is too much, Judge, for one day’s pay,” the conscientious young attorney said.

“Nonsense, Mac,” said the veteran. “Don’t let that worry you. I charged them \$100 and can easily afford to give you a quarter of it.”

In a case which came to him soon afterward McKinley won one of his most substantial earlier triumphs. He was pitted against John McSweeny, one of the most brilliant lawyers at the Ohio bar. It was a suit for damages for malprac-

tice against a surgeon, who, it was claimed, had set a broken leg so unskillfully that the patient was made bow-legged. McSweeny brought his client into court, and after he had told his story he bared his leg to show how far it was out of line.

### A Shrewd Defense.

McKinley, for the defense, demanded that the plaintiff bare the other leg for comparison. The court upheld this demand, in spite of McSweeny's vigorous objection. To the confusion of the plaintiff and his counsel and the merriment of court and jury that leg was found to be the worse bowed of the two. His trousers had concealed his natural deformity.

"My client seems to have done better by this man than did nature itself," said Counsellor McKinley, "and I move that the suit be dismissed with recommendation that he have his right leg broken and set by the defendant in this case." The plaintiff was laughed out of court. Soon after this success Judge Belden, a leading lawyer of Canton, formed a partnership with the young attorney which lasted until the Judge's death, in 1870.

He had already won his way so that the people in that year elected him Prosecuting Attorney of Stark County, which office he filled for several years. Practice now flowed in to him, and he speedily won repute as an excellent advocate. He



is credited with making some of the best jury arguments ever heard at that bar. When elected to Congress he was a recognized leader of the Stark County bar and had one of the best general practices at that bar.

Another case in which he especially distinguished himself was that of a number of miners prosecuted for riot, whom he defended in an appeal to the jury which is remembered to this day as a triumph of eloquence over hard fact. It was the first opportunity in his career to attest his deep sympathy with wage-workers, and his use of it gave him a hold upon their gratitude that time has only strengthened.

#### Apostle of Protection.

James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," wrote: "William McKinley, Jr., entered from the Canton district. He enlisted in an Ohio regiment when only 17 years old and won the rank of Major by meritorious services. The interests of his constituency and his own bent of mind led him to the study of industrial questions, and he was soon recognized in the House as one of the most thorough statisticians, and one of the ablest defenders of the doctrine of protection."

The Plumed Knight touched with his trenchant pen the very needle's eye of character which has placed McKinley where he stands to-day. Sympathy with the toilers brought him to the study of



industrial questions, to which he gave the same thorough analysis and intense application that he gave to his law cases. In this respect he is much like Garfield, having given like thorough study to political subjects.

It is said that Rutherford B. Hayes took occasion once to advise McKinley, who seemed destined for public preferment, to confine his political studies as far as possible to some particular subject, to master that so as to be recognized as its most learned expounder. "There is the tariff and protection," he is said to have advised. "It affords just the field for such endeavor as I have described. In the near future it is likely to become one of the leading issues upon which the voters of this nation will divide probably for many years."

### Won his Spurs Young.

This conversation may have occurred, but the fact remains that the natural bent of McKinley's mind and his tendency to sympathize with the toilers had early turned his intellect toward that precise question. That was his theme when very early in his legal career he took the stump and discussed political questions in his own and neighboring counties, to which his reputation as an attractive speaker early penetrated.

Major McKinley was only 33 years old when, in 1877, the people of the Canton district elected

him to represent them in Congress. Henry Clay and James G. Blaine are the most conspicuous statesmen who began Congressional careers at an



HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

early age. It was a Democratic House, and the new member began his service at the foot of the unimportant Law Revision Committee. His first term passed with no public speech of note to his credit, but Speaker Samuel J. Randall had noticed the studious application of the young Ohioan and his shrewdness in committee work.

Hence, at the outset of his second term McKinley was placed on the Judiciary Committee next to Thomas Brackett Reed. His ambition and mental promptings led him to prefer the Ways and Means Committee, but he was disappointed at that time. However, early in his second session debate on the tariff-revision bill of Fernando Wood gave him his chance, and he riddled that measure with

a grasp of fact and merciless logic that marked him as one of the masters of protection knowledge.

McKinley's Congressional prominence may be said to have fairly begun with the retirement of Garfield from the Ways and Means Committee after his election to the Presidency in 1880. McKinley was appointed to the vacancy, and from then until he retired from Congress in 1891, after ten years of service that would have been continuous except for that portion of the Forty-eighth Congress when the Democrats unseated him, he remained upon that most important committee. His work was so strong and incisive that the Democrats, fearing his abilities, three times sought to throw him out of Congress by gerrymandering his district. Twice placed in districts so fixed that the Democratic majority seemed assured, he nevertheless was elected by substantial majorities.

### Gerrymandered Out.

In 1890 an international contest was brought into the narrow limits of his Congressional district. The order had gone forth from Democratic free-trade headquarters that the peerless champion of protection must be beaten at any cost. So his district was patched up until it showed a nominal Democratic plurality of 3,100 votes. Most men would have shirked such a contest and retired upon laurels already won.

Not so McKinley. His Scotch-Irish blood was up, and he threw himself into the fight with an impetuosity that he had never before exhibited. He actually carried three of the four counties of his district, but was beaten by a slender plurality of 302 votes. He had pulled down the Democratic majority 2800 votes, and what his enemies sought to make his Waterloo proved to be a McKinley triumph and turned Republican thought in the country toward him as the leader of the greater struggle of this year. It, however, closed his Congressional career.

### **McKinley a Worker.**

McKinley in Washington was a worker persistent, methodical and indefatigable. Not objecting to temperate use of stimulants, he was never found in the haunts of convivial men. That side of life which fascinates and has destroyed the usefulness of many brilliant men had no fascination for him. His work-day was spent in committee or in the House, and the business of the day over, he went straight to his home and his invalid wife. Tom Murray, who for years was manager of the House restaurant, says that for years he watched his daily coming for a bowl of crackers and milk, which consumed, he returned to his work and wrought while his colleagues regaled upon terrapin and champagne.

And yet the hard-working, non-convivial member from Canton was popular with his fellow-members on both sides of the House. He led a bare majority of twenty-two through all the perils of conflicting interests. He, too, found time to champion the Federal Elections bill, and to draw to its support many men from widely separated territory, and representing many diverse local interests.

It was McKinley's Congressional record that has made him illustrious. Beginning at the foot of the ladder in committee appointment he forged steadily to the front. Leadership was won, not conceded. It was his presentment of the great tariff bill that crowded the House of Representatives on that ever-memorable May 7, 1890, when he reported it and opened a debate which has become historical. His contrast between protection and free trade, which closed that famous forensic utterance, paints at once a picture and a prophecy.

"We have now," he said, "enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal Government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent

we have made extraordinary strides. We have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit.

“To reverse this system means to stop the progress of this Republic. It means to turn the masses from ambition, courage and hope to dependence, degradation and despair. Talk about depression! We would have it then in its fullness. Everything would indeed be cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation that would ensue! When merchandise is cheapest men are poorest, and the most distressing experiences of our country—aye, of all history—have been when every thing was lowest and cheapest, measured in gold, and everything was highest and dearest, measured by labor.”

#### Governor of Ohio.

When Major McKinley, in 1890, lost his gerrymandered district by the narrow margin of 302 votes there was no doubt in the minds of Ohio Republicans as to who should and must be their candidate for Governor. It was no consolation purse that he was to race for. It was simply and solely that the fortune of hostile legislative control had placed within reach as candidate for the Chief Executive of the State a man of spotless honor, whose many services made him the most popular man in the Commonwealth. The room in the northwest corner of the State House in Columbus is brimful of history.



A Secretary of the Treasury, a Chief Justice of the United States and a President sat there as the Chief Executive of the State before being called to higher preferment. Nearly every man who has occupied the chief chair therein has been or still is a vital force in the political or business history of the nation. No other State has ever contributed as many Governors to the National Executive in chair or council.

Governor McKinley's career of four years in the Executive Chair of Ohio is exemplification of the fact that the most interesting period of a statesman's public service is not necessarily that in which he enjoys the greatest degree of public prominence. That office claimed, almost monopolized, his attention, and local interests were never in the remotest degree subordinated to wider political necessities. But this lessened neither the number nor loyalty of his friends in all parts of the country.

#### **Labor's Best Friend.**

His solicitude for the toilers was marked. His sympathy with the eight-hour movement was early manifested. He was a conspicuous champion of arbitration in the settlement of labor difficulties. These convictions appeared in his recommendations of legislation to protect working-men in hazardous occupations, to secure them more considerate treatment as well as more safety in the

pursuit of their avocations. It was upon his recommendation that the Ohio law was passed requiring that all street cars should be furnished with vestibules to protect the motormen and conductors from inclement weather.

But it was along the line of arbitration—authorized but not compulsory which he regarded as the true solution of labor troubles—that his best work was done. During his first term the State Board of Arbitration was created upon the Massachusetts plan, but he made its workings the subject of his personal supervision during all his administration. During the existence of the Board, twenty-eight strikes, some of them involving 2000 men, were investigated, and in fifteen cases the Board found a common basis upon which both parties could agree.

No account of Governor McKinley's connection with labor problems would be complete without mention of the tireless energy he displayed in securing relief for the 2000 miners of the Hocking Valley mining district, who, early in 1895, were reported out of work and destitute. The news reached him at midnight, but by 5 A. M. on his own responsibility a car, loaded with provisions, worth \$1000, was dispatched to the afflicted district. Appeals made subsequently to the Boards of Trade or Chambers of Commerce of the great cities of the State increased this initial benefaction to \$32,796 worth of clothing and provisions.

Governor McKinley's two terms as the State's Executive were on the whole smooth and harmonious, but he was repeatedly called upon to solve perplexing problems in the relations of capital and labor. In 1894 the State Government received no fewer than fifteen calls for State troops to aid in enforcing the law. No such demand had been made since the Civil War, but Governor McKinley, obeying the dictates of his judgment, answered with such popular acceptance that even those labor organizations which are most radical in opposing any action in labor troubles on the part of the State militia were forced to admit the wisdom of his course.

### Loyal to His Word.

No events in the history of Governor McKinley commended him more to the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens than his honorable course in two national conventions of his party when, had he shown a momentary departure in steadfast loyalty in support of the men he had been instructed to vote for, he might have himself been the nominee. Since 1876 he had borne a prominent part in Republican national conventions. He was a member of the Committee on Resolutions of the convention of 1880 when the man who led the Ohio delegation, pledged to the candidacy of Senator John Sherman and who placed that veteran statesman in nomination in a speech

that was one of the masterpieces of his public utterances, yet suffered the convention to nominate himself and never raised a warning note to recall delegates to respect for his representative capacity.

Again, in 1884 he was the chosen member of the Committee on Resolutions who drafted the party platform with such skill that a newspaper raised his name to its column head with the words, "Let the man who wrote the platform of '84 be our standard-bearer for 1888."

Perhaps McKinley himself realized in 1888 that he then hardly measured up to the standard of the tried and true veterans in the public service whose names were to go before that convention. Certainly no one could have declared such fact more unhesitatingly or earnestly than he did. It was an occasion never to be forgotten and it demonstrated even then that Mr. McKinley was a Presidential possibility who could afford to bide his time and need not crowd veterans in public favor out of a nomination which for him could have no charm unless fairly won.

The balloting for President had reached the fourth call when a Connecticut delegate cast his vote for McKinley. As soon as the vote was announced McKinley rose in his seat and lifted his hand for recognition of the Chair. Before he could utter half a dozen words a great shout

“McKinley” went up from all over the convention. Unshaken by this evidence of popular esteem he said :—

### The Speech of a True Man.

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State ; I am here by resolution of its Republican convention, passed without one dissenting voice, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman and to use every worthy endeavor for his nomination. I accepted this trust because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me. I am not insensible of the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me I cannot remain silent with honor ; I cannot consistently with the credit of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me ; I cannot with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause and with his confidence ; I cannot consistently with my own views of my personal integrity consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before the convention.

“ I would not restrict myself if I could find it in my heart to do, to say, or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to

suspect that I 'wavered in my loyalty to Ohio or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request—I demand—that no delegates who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me.”

When McKinley, who spoke in tones whose earnestness and sincerity could not be doubted, concluded his speech his audience applauded him to the echo. It was so characteristic of the man that his name was not mentioned by any as a candidate.

### **Declined the Prize Again.**

Four years later at Minneapolis McKinley again had opportunity to show that he valued honor above even nomination to the highest office in the Republic. He was the chairman of the convention. When Ohio was reached on the first ballot for President the leader of the delegation announced its full vote for William McKinley. This was the signal for an outburst of applause from floor and gallery, as spontaneous as it was vociferous. Hurred consultations were held by many State delegations, and amid the cheers and applause which still continued one leader after another arose to the change of his State to McKinley. The Major, evidently deeply affected by the demonstration, but firm and composed, rose in his place and said :—

“I challenge the vote of Ohio,”



"The gentleman is not a member of the delegation at present," said Governor Foraker, who was chairman of the Ohio representatives.

"I am a delegate from that State," cried McKinley, in tones that could be heard above the confusion and uproar, "and I demand that my vote be counted."

"Your alternative voted for you," Governor Foraker persisted.

The vote of the delegation was polled, nevertheless, and the solitary vote which was cast for Harrison, was Major McKinley's. Harrison was nominated, and Chairman McKinley, calling Colonel Elliott F. Shepard to the chair, moved to make the nomination unanimous.

"Your turn will come in '96," shouted one of the 182 delegates, who, despite his protest, voted for him in that convention. This prophecy has been fulfilled.

### McKinley at Home.

Two things commend McKinley mightily to the average man—he will fight and he loves his wife. While these at first blush seem to be virtues common enough, yet he who has them has not far to go to make him a man complete. He also loves children with the pathetic love of the man whose name will live only in history, for the two children of his early married life are dead, and his wife is a confirmed invalid.

It was early in his struggles with the law in Canton that William McKinley met Ida Saxton, a beauty, the daughter of the richest banker in the town, and a girl after his own heart. He has never got over the surprise and joy which filled his soul when, having made up his mind to put his future happiness to the touch, he asked Ida Saxton to be his wife and she said yes. It is said that her father confirmed this when along with his parental blessing he said: "You are the only man of all that have sought her that I would have given her to."

It was in 1871, after he had won his first success at the bar and had been successful as Prosecuting Attorney. They went to housekeeping in the same house to which he returned after his long service in Congress and his two terms as Governor. In that pleasant little villa his two children were born. One lived to be nearly four years old, while the other died in early infancy.

It was soon after the birth of the second daughter that the fact became apparent that Mrs. McKinley would be a lifelong invalid. Much could be written of the tenderness of the strong and virile man to his invalid wife, but the idle gossip which has already been written upon that subject has hurt where it was thought to comfort. Newspapers have thoughtlessly dwelt upon this affliction, singing praises of his constancy and

devotion when even kind words carried with them a penetrating sting.

It is enough to say that this husband and wife have never been parted except during exigent work in campaigning. During his service in Washington she was always with him, embroidering the slippers which has constituted her principal employment in his absence until the number which have solaced the sufferers in hospitals is said to amount to nearly four thousand. From Congressional duty to his wife and back to duty was the round of his Washington life.

While Governor of Ohio four rooms in the Chittenden House in Columbus were their home. An early breakfast and he was off to his executive duties. It was remarked that he always left his hotel by a side entrance, and when well across the street he turned and lifted his hat, while a handkerchief fluttered for an instant from the window of his home. Then the Governor with a pleased smile walked jauntily off toward the State House. This was repeated every evening, showing that loving watch was kept at that window. Occasionally, weather and health permitting, Mrs. McKinley indulged in a carriage ride, her husband always accompanying her. Always on Sunday the Governor took an early train for Canton, and going to his mother's house, accompanied her to the first M. E. Church, of which he has been a

member for thirty-five years. He was superintendent of its Sunday-school until public duty took him to Washington.

### His Personal Appearance.

Major McKinley is five feet seven inches in height and is as straight as Michael Angelo's statue of David. He undoubtedly looks like the great Napoleon, although he has said more than once that he does not like to be reminded of the resemblance. He has the same grave, dignified mouth, the same high, broad and full forehead and the same heavy lower jaw. He is a better-looking man than was Napoleon, and his bright, dark eyes shine out under brows which are less heavy than those of Bonaparte, and his frown is by no means so terrible as that of the Little Corporal. He appreciates, however, the value of dignity, always dresses in a double-breasted frock coat and crowns his classic head with a tall silk hat.

Personally Major McKinley is a charming man to meet. His presence is prepossessing, though in conversation he rarely develops brilliancy or ready wit. Dignity and repose, rather than force and action, appear as his strong characteristics to the man who meets him casually. Yet his campaigns show that when time for action comes he can go through labor that wears out a corps of experienced reporters, and come out of the immense strain of

six weeks' constant canvass with little loss of flesh and comparatively few signs of fatigue. The Gubernatorial campaign of 1893 was notable in this respect, and shows the character of the man in his relations to politics.

With the chances favoring him and business depression prevailing, many a man would have trusted something to luck, and worked less persistently and energetically than under other circumstances. But that was not McKinley's way. He realized that his boom for the Presidency depended very largely upon the size of his majority, and worked like a Trojan. Those who followed him in the famous Congressional campaign of 1890 against John G. Warwick, and again in 1891, when he canvassed the State against Campbell with such signal success, and were a third time with him in 1893, say that he worked as never before.

In the speeches he made one notable characteristic is always prominent. He does not make enemies. No one ever heard McKinley abuse a political opponent from the stump. Few men have ever heard him speak with disrespect or malignity of one in private life. Only among his close confidants, and they are carefully chosen and not numerous, does he allow himself to speak his mind fully.

In 1893, when Major McKinley suffered some serious financial reverses through over-fidelity in the interests of a friend, Mrs. McKinley took quite a

noble stand. An Ohio banker named Walker, for whom Mr. McKinley had indorsed notes, suddenly failed. From boyhood the two men had been the closest personal friends. When Mr. Walker requested Mr. McKinley to indorse for him, Mr. McKinley gave his signature without making any investigation. Mr. McKinley continued placing his signature on notes until the crash came.

It was found after the failure that Mr. McKinley's liabilities were about \$100,000, a sum nearly five times as large as he had saved during the forty-nine years of his life. Mrs. McKinley had property which was worth probably \$75,000 if sold under the hammer. She at once turned this over to her husband's trustees. Her fortune came to her as a legacy from her father. Her friends protested against allowing her means to go to cancel debts incurred by another man, but she insisted, and Mr. McKinley and his wife together became quite penniless.

The result, however, was not quite so bad, for the trustees, chief of whom was Mr. H. H. Kohl Saat, of Chicago, when they received the trust, decided, without consulting the Governor, to raise the money necessary to meet his obligations. This was fully done by private subscriptions from generous people, and in February, 1894, a year after the assignment, the property was restored to them again in full.



# HON. GARRET A. HOBART:

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Republican Nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

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GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART, the distinguished son of New Jersey, who has been selected as the Republican candidate for Vice-President, is a big, rosy-cheeked gentleman known to most every Jerseyman as "Gus" Hobart. His face is as open as a book, and his clear eyes, dark hair and brown mustache, create the impression on first sight that he is a man of 40 or 45 years. His age is 52.

He is a man of much magnetism and amiability. He has displayed locomotive energy in all of his undertakings, and is both powerful and fearless. His career as a citizen, lawyer, business man and statesman justifies all of the claims for brilliancy his friends make for him.

Jerseymen speak of him as a "true blue" native of the State, and tell of it with pride that he was born on a Monmouth County farm in 1844, and was reared amid the breezes that blow off the shores of Long Branch.

He received a common school education, was

sent to Rutgers College at 15, and at 19 was given the degree of A. M. He is now a LL. D. The degree was given him on Tuesday, June 16, 1896, by his alma mater. His friend and associate, Governor Griggs, was honored at the same time with the same degree.

Mr. Hobart began the study of law with Socrates Tuttle, of Paterson, who was then the leading practitioner of East Jersey. He was admitted as an attorney in 1864 and as a counselor in 1869.

Mr. Hobart's entrance into politics was made in May, 1871, when the Board of Aldermen of the city of Paterson selected him as City Counsel. The next year he was made counsel for the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Passaic County. These two offices brought him in direct contact with all the prominent men of Passaic County and gave him almost daily opportunity to show his ability as a lawyer and politician.

These associations were directly beneficial, resulting in his selection in 1872 to the House of Assembly. He made a good record during his first year, taking an active part in all debates, and at once acquired a State reputation. Without scarcely turning a hand he was re-elected in 1873 and was made the caucus nominee for Speaker of the House, being unanimously elected.

He took the gavel untrammelled by promises or

pledges, and was enabled to select his committees and direct the work of the House as his judgment suggested.

In 1875 he declined a re-election. His clientage had become extensive, and he needed all his time and energy for his profession. In 1877 he was induced to accept the Senatorial nomination, and was elected. His success as Senator was even greater than that in the lower house.

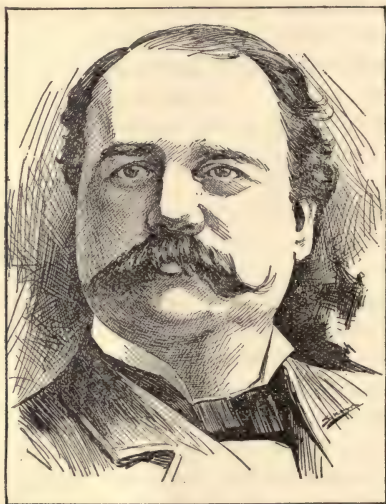
### Prominent in the Senate.

He served his three years with distinction, and was promptly re-elected by the largest majority Passaic County had ever given to any candidate. His extended experience, and the fact that he was a second-term man, returned by such a complimentary vote, made him a formidable candidate for the President of the Senate, and in 1881 he was accorded that honor. In 1882 he was again called to preside over the upper house.

His legislative career was a brilliant one. He made himself popular with all the prominent men of the State because of his ability, amiability and fairness. In 1884 he was the Republican caucus nominee for United States Senator.

He was also a candidate for United States Senator in 1882. The Senate was Republican, but the House was Democratic. Congressman John J. Gardner, of Atlantic City, was President of the

Senate. A successor to United States Senator McPherson was to be chosen. Mr. McPherson sought to succeed himself. Ex-Senator H. S. Little was leading a vigorous opposition against him.



HON. GARRET A. HOBART.

An effort was made to get a strong candidate, and among those selected was the late Chancellor, Theodore Runyon, the present Attorney General, John P. Stockton, and Leon Abbett. The Democrats were very much mixed, and the Republicans selected Garret A. Hobart as their candidate,

having assurances of a number of Democratic votes.

The Democrats had only a slim majority on joint ballot, and five of them were disaffected as to McPherson. Senator John W. Taylor and twenty Republicans gave assurances to Senator McPherson that they would assist him in the event of the Democratic plotters being successful. The Senate voted for Mr. Hobart, and he received altogether thirty-six votes, against forty-three given to Senator McPherson.

Senator Hobart made the same remarkable advance in State politics as in county matters, and he was readily recognized as a leader, and was selected a member of the State Committee while presiding over the Senate. In 1880 he was elected chairman, a place which he held until the selection of John Kean in 1890.

He has, however, always been a committeeman-at-large, and in all succeeding campaigns has given his undivided time to the work of the Republican party. His good judgment in political matters, as well as his aggressiveness, caused him to be selected in 1884 as a member of the National Committee from New Jersey.

He gave to National politics the same energy, and did his work with the same affability. He speedily won distinction as a leader in national politics, and was made vice-chairman. The duties

imposed upon him in the National Committee did not, however, cause him to lose interest in New Jersey affairs, even to a personal direction of the policy of his party in the Fifth New Jersey Congressional District, where he resided.

### Mentioned for Governor.

Mr. Hobart has several times been mentioned as a candidate for Governor, and he was prominent in the public mind at the time John W. Griggs declared himself a candidate.

It is well known that Garret A. Hobart secured the nomination of the present Republican Governor. They were fast friends, and associated together in a number of enterprises, had studied law in the same office, and the Governor became Mr. Hobart's political successor, following him in the House of Assembly and in the Senate.

When it was announced that Garret A. Hobart was a candidate for Governor, Senator Griggs called upon him, and in a friendly conversation asked him for a definite expression on the subject, which was then somewhat in doubt. He received from Mr. Hobart the assurance that the announcement of his candidacy for Governor was only a newspaper joke. It was then that Senator Griggs declared himself as a candidate and secured the promise of Mr. Hobart's active support.

He personally conducted the campaign, and not-



withstanding the fact that there were six candidates in the field, he secured the nomination for Griggs and then assumed the duties of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee, and devoted every hour of his time until he secured Griggs' election by over 26,000 plurality. This was a climax to all his political successes in the State, which made him a leader indorsed and respected.

Mr. Hobart is considered a wealthy man, but is not a millionaire, but a man comfortably fixed, keenly enjoying the friends that he has made and the success that has come to him because of his energy and ability. He is active in benevolent enterprises.

Garret A. Hobart was never a boss, but always a persuader of men. He has been a leader and an adviser all through his political career. His influence has always been for good in New Jersey politics. His enthusiastic admirers advocated him as the proper man to represent the East on the national ticket. They attributed to him the success of last Fall, which was the climax of the fight of twenty years to ditch the Democratic machine.

All the Republicans in the State joined in the Vice-Presidential boom, somewhat to the annoyance of Mr. Hobart himself. It grew so fast that when he did attempt to check it he found it impossible. Democrats as well as Republicans shouted his

praises. No man is more approachable, and the poorest laborer in Paterson finds him as easy of access as the banker or the politician.

Mr. Hobart lives in a large frame house on the corner of Carroll and Van Houten streets.

Mrs. Hobart was Miss Jennie Tuttle, daughter of Mr. Hobart's preceptor and a sister of Hobart Tuttle, private Secretary to Governor Griggs. She is a woman of many accomplishments, having inherited much of the keen intellect and wit of her famous father.

Mr. Hobart's family consists of Garret A. Hobart, Jr., now 12 years old. His daughter, who was a great favorite in New Jersey and New York society, died in 1895 in Italy while the family was abroad.

## Republican National Convention of 1896.

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THE Convention assembled in St. Louis, Tuesday, June 16th. The first day opened with unclouded skies, and with the prospect of extremely hot weather. Although the Convention was not to be called until noon, the streets in the vicinity of the hall were thronged for two hours before that time with strangers.

The doors, however, were closed to all persons, including delegates and alternates, until the time should arrive for their official opening. The only exceptions to this rule were newspaper men, furnished with badges and tickets of admission; officials of the Convention, and several hundred special and general aids to the sergeant-at-arms.

At 12.20 o'clock Senator Carter, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, called the Convention to order, all the seats of the delegates, and nearly half of the gallery space being filled. Rabbi Sale, the chaplain, opened the proceedings with a prayer, the whole assemblage standing as the chaplain invoked the divine benediction.

At the close of the chaplain's prayer Chairman Carter said: "This Convention is assembled in compliance with the terms of a call issued by the National Committee December 14, 1895, which call the secretary will now proceed to read."

The secretary did so, and Chairman Carter then said : "Gentlemen of the Convention, by direction of the National Committee I present for your approval for your temporary chairman, Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana." Mr. Sutherland, on behalf of the New York delegation, moved that the selection of the Committee be approved, and this was carried without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Fairbanks, a tall, slender man, with a dark, close-cropped beard and mustache, came forward, and in a clear and distinct voice, with occasional references to his notes, began his address, which was frequently applauded. He concluded as follows :

"There are many and important questions requiring the enlightened and patriotic judgment of the Republican party. A pan-American commercial alliance was conceived by James G. Blaine, and the highest motives of self-interest require us to accomplish what he had so well begun. The Monroe Doctrine must be firmly upheld, and the Powers of the earth made to respect this great but unwritten law. There can be no further territorial aggrandizement by foreign Governments on the Western Continent. Our devotion to the pensioners of the Nation was never more emphatic nor more necessary than now. The Republican party believes in the development of our Navy and merchant marine until we establish our undisputed supremacy upon the high seas.

"The struggle for Cuban liberty enlists the ardent sympathy of the Republican party—a party which has given to liberty its fullest meaning on

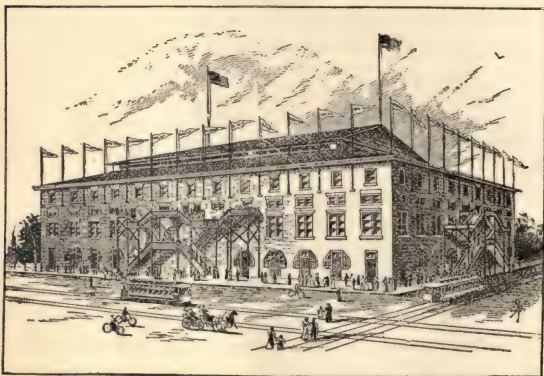
this continent. We wish to see a new republic, born on Cuban soil, greet the new century whose dawn is already purpling the east.

“My friends, the campaign of 1896 is upon us. The great questions for debate in the august forum of the United States are free trade and free silver against protective tariff and sound money. As we regard our homes and our honor, our happiness and prosperity, and the future power and majesty of the republic, let us dedicate ourselves to the restoration of a protective tariff which shall be genuinely American, and to maintenance of highest standard of value with which to measure the exchanges of the people. A distinguished Republican has said that the supreme desire of the American people is for an ‘honest currency, and a chance to earn it by honest toil.’”

Long before he had finished his address Mr. Fairbanks's voice, in the effort to accomplish the impossible task of reaching every part of the immense auditorium, became painfully distressed; but most of his points were taken up by those nearest to him, and those at a distance waved their fans in unison with the applause of those in front. His reference to the impossibility of causing fifty-cent silver dollars to circulate in unlimited numbers on a parity with gold was greeted with a loud burst of applause, while Senator Teller smiled grimly, and one of the Western delegates in the rear emitted a dismal owl-call.

His reference to Blaine produced a genuine

demonstration, the Convention rising and cheering repeatedly. When Cuba was referred to flags were waved, and there was considerable hand-clapping, redoubled when his closing sentences declared that the fight of 1896 was between free trade and free silver against honest money and protection.

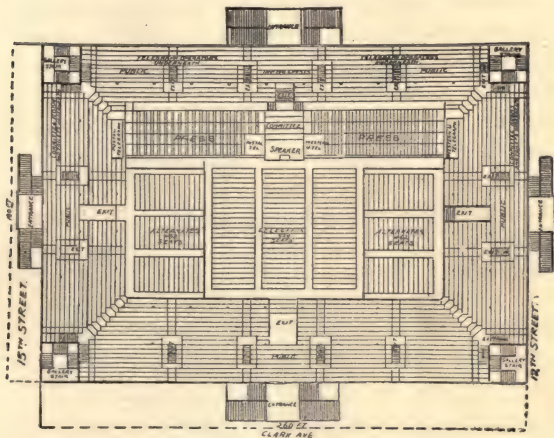


EXTERIOR VIEW OF REPUBLICAN CONVENTION HALL, 1896.

At the conclusion of Mr. Fairbanks's speech Mr. Carter proposed the appointment of the secretary, assistant secretaries, sergeant-at-arms, official stenographers and other officials, and the persons so named were declared duly appointed. W. Lamb, delegate from Virginia, offered a resolution, which was agreed to, that, until a permanent organization was effected, the Convention should be governed



by the rules of the last Republican Convention, and a resolution that the roll of States and Territories be called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, and



FLOOR PLAN OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION  
HALL, 1896.

that all resolutions in respect to the platform should be referred to the committee without debate. The States were then called for their selection of delegates as members of the several committees.

The various committees having been appointed, the Convention adjourned until Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock.

The Convention progressed only so far on the second day as to effect a permanent organization and dispose of the reports of the Committee on Credentials. It adopted the majority report, seating the Higgins delegation from Delaware. The convention took a test vote on a motion for the previous question, which resulted in 568 1-2 ayes and 339 1-2 nays. The latter represented the whole strength of the McKinley opposition, including the votes of the Pennsylvania delegation controlled by Senator Quay.

The situation regarding the Vice-Presidency showed that there was no probability of the nomination of Governor Morton for second place. A canvass made late at night divided the prospective vote as follows: Hobart, of New Jersey, 350; Morton, of New York, 320; Evans, of Tennessee, 225, and the remainder scattering. The McKinley people, headed by Mark Hanna, manager of McKinley's campaign for the nomination, were for Hobart, and expected to nominate him on the second ballot by gains from the Evans vote.

Senators Teller, of Colorado, and Cannon, of Utah, in the Committee on Resolutions, gave notice that they would have to leave the convention if the gold standard was put in the platform, but the matter was talked over during the night with a view to changing their purpose.

On Thursday, June 18th, the Convention com

pleted its work by nominating William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice-President.



MARCUS A. HANNA,  
Leader of the McKinley Hosts.

But one ballot was required to make either nomination. Governor Morton's name was not presented for second place.

Scenes of the wildest enthusiasm attended the nomination of the Presidential candidate.

The platform was adopted in the form presented below. The free silver men attempted to amend it by moving the substitution of a free silver plank. It was laid upon the table by a vote of 818½ to 105½, and the platform was finally adopted by a vote of 812½ to 110½.

The free silver men then entered protests, and twenty-one delegates, representing the purely silver States, left the Convention, announcing the severance of their relations with the Republican party.

These were led by Senator Teller, of Colorado, who made an impressive speech, announcing his withdrawal from the Republican party after having been an active member of it for forty years. His eyes filled with tears and his voice trembled with emotion as he bade farewell to his political colleagues and friends. A most respectful hearing was accorded him, and although the majority of the Convention was not in sympathy with his principles, they were clearly in sympathy with the man, believing him to be actuated by honest convictions and a high sense of duty.

The only entire delegations that withdrew were those of Colorado and Idaho. The leave-taking was accompanied by cheers and patriotic singing and was not materially dramatic.

The Platform of Republican principles was then adopted as presented by the Committee on Resolu-

tions, through its chairman, Senator Foraker, of Ohio.

### The Platform in Full.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:—

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that

the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity ; and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism and the success of the Administration of President Harrison.

### **The Tariff Plank.**

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry ; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods ; it secures the American market for the American producer ; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman ; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price ; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the



necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands.

We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement and then it wants rest.

### Reciprocity Indorsed.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican Administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy, and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established.

Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interests, which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present administration for not

keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the field, as well as to those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mill—we promise the most ample protection.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American ship yards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

### For Gold Standard.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to

promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard—the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

### The Pension Question.

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Wherever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

### Our Foreign Policy.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them. The Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States, and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers, and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

### **The Monroe Doctrine.**

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

### **Sympathy for Cuba.**

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggle of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out

for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actually use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We, therefore, favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and sea coast defenses.

### **Educational Test of Immigrants.**

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

### **National Arbitration Board.**

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party; and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

### **Rights of Women.**

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay



for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and we welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

#### Nominations for the Presidency.

The Platform having been adopted by the vote already stated, the next business in order was the nomination of candidates.

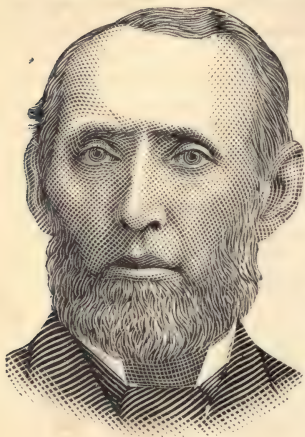
The Chairman—The regular order of business is the roll-call of States for the presentation of candidates for nomination. (Great Applause.)

The secretary proceeded to call the roll of States. There was no response until the State of Iowa was reached, when Mr. Henderson said: "Mr. Chairman, Mr. John N. Baldwin, of Council Bluffs, will speak for Iowa."

Mr. Baldwin was greeted with applause as he proceeded to nominate Senator Allison.

Senator Cullom instructed the delegation from Illinois not to present his name.

Kansas, Kentucky and Louisiana were called, and no one responded. Upon the call of Maine,



SHELBY M. CULLOM.

Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, took the speaker's stand to nominate Thomas B. Reed. In the course of his speech he said :

“We want a President who will meet this situation as Lincoln met that of 1861, with the chiefs of the Republicans about him, and with party and people at his back. (Applause.) We want a President, who, on the 5th

day of next March, will summon Congress in extra session, and, refusing to make appointments, or to deal with patronage, will say that all else must wait until Congress sends to him a tariff which shall put money in the Treasury and wages in the pockets of the American workingman.

“We want a President who will protect at all hazards the gold reserve of the Treasury (prolonged applause); who will see to it that no obligation of the Government is presented which is not in whatever coin the creditor chooses to demand, and who will never forget that the

nation which pays with honor borrows with ease.

“We want a man who will guard the safety and dignity of the nation at home and abroad, and who will always and constantly be firm and strong in dealing with foreign nations instead of suddenly varying a long course of weakness and indifference with a convulsive spasm of vigor and patriotism.

“Also, we want a man who will lead his party and act with it, and who will not, by senseless quarrels at the White House and the Capitol, reduce legislation and execution alike to imbecility and failure.

“Such is the man we want for our great office in these bitter times, when the forces of disorder are loosed, and the wreckers with their false lights gather at the shore and lure the Ship of State upon the rocks.” (Applause.)

The mention of Mr. Reed's name was received with loud applause and cheering, led by the Maine delegation. To add to the enthusiasm, some admirer of the Maine statesman suspended a large picture of Mr. Reed from the gallery, which evoked many demonstrations of approval.



HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Mr. Littlefield, of Maine, seconded the nomination of Reed.

The clerk proceeded with the call of the roll until the State of New York was reached, when William A. Sutherland, of that delegation, arose. His appearance was greeted with applause. He said: "The claims of the State of New York and her favorite son will be presented by her other favorite son—that citizen of all the States of the Union—Chauncey M. Depew."



THOMAS B. REED.

More enthusiasm was manifested by the convention on this mention, during which Mr. Depew proceeded to the platform, and was introduced by the Chairman of the convention.

Among other things Mr. Depew said:

"The youth who came to manhood after the Civil War, and knew little of its agonies or its animosities, found a glorious example of American

possibility and achievement in the canal driver, the brilliant and magnetic Garfield. In defeat and in victory, for the policies which stood for the development of American industries, for America for Americans, whether native or naturalized, and for the reciprocity which bound the North American and South American continents together, we had the Plumed Knight of our enthusiasm and our love, James G. Blaine. (Cheers.)

“As a new generation came to the majority, the difficult task of development and prosperity, and the future theory without experience, the Republican party again happily practiced that policy of protection of American industries, and that practice of sound finance, which gave to the Republic its era of greatest prosperity, the fullest employment for labor, and the highest



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

wages for work in the history of our nation in the closing year of the administration of that able statesman, Benjamin Harrison. (Cheers.)

“With Levi P. Morton there would be no deficiency to be met by the issue of bonds, there



would be no blight on our credit which would call for the services of a syndicate, there would be no trifling with the delicate intricacies of finance and commerce which would paralyze the operations of trade and manufacture.



LEVI P. MORTON.

“Whoever may be nominated by this convention will receive the cordial support, the enthusiastic advocacy of the Republicans of New York, but in the shifting conditions of our Com-

monwealth Governor Morton can secure more than the party strength, and without question in the coming canvass, no matter what issues may arise between now and November, place the Empire State solidly in the Republican column.” (Cheers.)

On the conclusion of Mr. Depew’s speech, the convention applauded his remarks liberally. The secretary then proceeded with the calling of the roll. There was no response from North Carolina and North Dakota, but he said “Ohio,” and it seemed as though the whole convention was wait-



ing. More than half the delegates climbed on their chairs, waving hats, and there was terrific cheering.

Governor Bushnell mounted a chair and was recognized, but the enthusiasm was so great that he could not be heard for a minute. Finally he was heard to say: "Mr. Chairman, Senator Foraker will speak for Ohio and Ohio's candidate."

In the course of his address Mr. Foraker said:

"If we make no mistake, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th of March, to remain out until God in His wisdom and mercy and goodness shall see fit once more to chastise His people. (Applause.) So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scenes witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people. It remains for us now as the last crowning of our work here to complete our work by nominating a good candidate.

"The people want a good Republican; they want something more than a wise, patriotic statesman; they want a man who embodies in himself not only all of those essential qualifications, but who, in addition, in the highest possible degree, typifies in a monetary character, in record, in ambition and in purpose, the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by the free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-saving Democratic Administration. (Cheers.)

"I stand here to present to this convention such a man. His name is William McKinley."

Senator Foraker got no farther than the name of

the Ohio statesman. Even before the last syllable had passed his lips, with one great swell the delegates and the occupants of the galleries sprang to their feet and let out a yell that would have driven out of the pastures the far-famed bull of Bashan.

The precise time when this violent eruption occurred was 3.18 P. M., as indicated by the clock confronting the Speaker's desk. Senator Foraker modestly stepped back, and with his hand raised, seemed to deprecate the simultaneous movement of voices and action on the part of the people, and Chairman Thurston hit the desk four or five thumps with his gavel, but the howling crowd paid no more attention to him and his gavel than if he were located in some outlying member of the solar system.

Then the crowd had it all to themselves, and they howled. As if shot into the air from some concealed battery, a thousand variegated plumes flashed into the air, almost concealing the thousands of American flags, handkerchiefs and umbrellas that were being wildly flourished by the enthusiastic crowd. State standards were uprooted and carried up and down the aisles by shrieking delegates.

A gigantic portrait of McKinley was hoisted to a position in front of the gallery opposite the chairman's desk, and as the picture caught the eyes of the assemblage there was an immense swell in the volume of sound which filled the spacious hall.

In an effort to bring about a state of quietness

the band behind the chairman struck up "Marching Through Georgia." Instead of listening quietly to the instrumental music, the crowd simply drowned it out by singing in all sorts of voices and in all kinds of time the rollicking words of the song.

After the instrumental music ceased the crowd took up the song and marched through Georgia with an accompaniment of many thousand feet pounding the floor in an attempt to correspond with the rhythm of the tune. After awhile there was an ebb in the volume of noise, and again the instruments started in, this time with "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

Again the audience helped out the musicians, and the "Battle Cry of Freedom" was shouted out in a manner which reminded the old-timers of the war-time when no collection of loyal Americans, not even prayer meetings, was considered complete without an outburst of the stirring song.

At length, at 3.46 P. M., Mr. Foraker resumed as follows:—

"Gentlemen of the Convention: You seem to have heard of the name of my candidate before. (Laughter.) And so you have. He is known the world over. His testimonials are of private life without reproach. Four years of heroic service as a boy soldier on the battlefields of the Republic, under such a gallant General as Philip H. Sheridan. (Applause.) Twelve years of conspicuous service in the halls of Congress, associated with

great leaders of Republicanism. (Applause.) Four years of executive service as Governor of Ohio, but, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, leader of the House of Representatives and author of the 'McKinley law.'" (Prolonged applause.)

In eloquent terms Governor Hastings of Pennsylvania nominated Senator Quay.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot, the vote standing as follows :

STATES.	McKinley.	Reed.	Quay.	Morton.	Allison.	STATES.	McKinley.	Reed.	Quay.	Morton.	Allison.
Alabama.....	19	2	...	1	...	New York.....	17	...	...	55	...
Arkansas.....	16	...	...	...	...	North Carolina..	19½	2½	...	...	...
California.....	18	...	...	...	...	North Dakota...	6	...	...	...	...
Colorado*.....	...	...	...	...	...	Ohio.....	46	...	...	...	...
Connecticut.....	7	5	...	...	...	Oregon.....	8	...	...	...	...
Delaware.....	6	...	...	...	...	Pennsylvania....	6	...	58	...	...
Florida.....	6	...	...	2	...	Rhode Island....	...	8	...	...	...
Georgia.....	22	2	2	...	...	South Carolina..	13	...	...	...	...
Indiana.....	30	...	...	...	...	South Dakota...	8	...	...	...	...
Iowa.....	...	...	...	...	26	Tennessee.....	24	...	...	...	...
Illinois.....	46	2	...	...	...	Texas.....	21	5	...	3	...
Kansas.....	20	...	...	...	...	Utah.....	3	...	...	3	...
Kentucky.....	26	...	...	...	...	Vermont.....	8	...	...	...	...
Louisiana.....	11	4	½	½	...	Virginia.....	23	1	...	...	...
Maine.....	...	12	...	...	...	Washington.....	8	...	...	...	...
Maryland.....	15	1	...	...	...	West Virginia...	12	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts...	1	29	...	...	...	Wisconsin.....	24	...	...	...	...
Michigan.....	28	...	...	...	...	Wyoming.....	6	...	...	...	...
Minnesota.....	18	...	...	...	...	Arizona.....	6	...	...	...	...
Mississippi.....	17	1	...	...	...	New Mexico.....	5	...	...	1	...
Missouri.....	34	...	...	...	...	Oklahoma.....	4	1	...	1	...
Montana.....	1	...	...	...	...	Indian Territory	6	...	...	...	...
Nebraska.....	16	...	...	...	...	District of Col..	...	1	...	1	...
Nevada.....	3	...	...	...	...	Alaska.....	4	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire...	...	8	...	...	...						
New Jersey.....	19	1	...	...	...	Total.....	661½	84½	61½	58	35½

\* Cast no vote. Idaho did not vote. Montana cast 1 vote for J Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania. Absent or not voting, 22.

The Convention had now been in session nearly eight hours, but there was a general disposition to finish business before adjournment. Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, made the motion that the Convention proceed to the nomination of a Vice-President, and that the speeches be limited to five minutes.

Samuel Fessenden, of Connecticut, was recognized to nominate Governor Bulkeley.

At the end of the five minutes, the crowd called "time" enthusiastically, and the roll-call proceeded until New Jersey was reached, when delegates began to cry "Hobart." This gentleman was put in nomination by Judge J. Franklin Fort.

W. K. Allen, of Rhode Island, nominated Governor Charles W. Lippitt.

William M. Randolph presented the claims of the Southern States in his speech nominating Henry Clay Evans, of Tennessee. Evans was seconded by a colored delegate, S. E. Smith, of Kentucky, whose effort was loudly cheered.

Virginia presented the name of General James A. Walker.

No other nominations were made and the ballot was taken.

The detailed vote for Vice-President was as follows :

STATES	Hobart.	Evans.	Bulkeley.	Scattering.	STATES.	Hobart.	Evans.	Bulkeley.	Scattering.
Alabama.....	10	11	1	...	New York.....	72	...	...	...
Arkansas.....	10	5	1	...	North Carolina.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...
California.....	14	3	1	...	North Dakota.....	3	3	...	...
Colorado *.....	...	...	...	...	Ohio.....	25	15	...	...
Connecticut.....	...	12	...	...	Oregon.....	8	...	...	...
Delaware.....	6	...	...	...	Pennsylvania.....	64	...	...	...
Florida.....	5	3	...	...	Rhode Island.....	...	...	...	8
Georgia.....	5	21	...	...	South Carolina.....	3	15	...	...
Indiana.....	12	16	...	2	South Dakota.....	8	...	...	...
Illinois.....	44	4	...	...	Tennessee.....	...	23	...	...
Iowa.....	8	5	10	3	Texas $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	11	12	...	...
Kansas.....	20	...	...	...	Utah.....	5	1	...	...
Kentucky.....	8	17	...	1	Vermont.....	8	...	...	...
Louisiana.....	8	8	...	...	Virginia.....	...	...	...	24
Maine.....	...	5	2	5	Washington.....	8	...	...	...
Maryland.....	14	1	1	...	West Virginia.....	12	...	...	...
Massachusetts.....	14	12	4	...	Wisconsin.....	3	20	...	...
Michigan.....	21	7	...	...	Wyoming.....	6	...	...	...
Minnesota.....	6	12	...	...	Arizona.....	4	1	1	...
Mississippi.....	13	5	...	...	New Mexico.....	...	6	...	...
Missouri.....	10	23	...	1	Oklahoma.....	4	2	...	...
Montana†.....	1	...	...	...	Indian Territory....	6	...	...	...
Nebraska.....	16	...	...	...	District of Columbia	2	...	...	...
Nevada‡.....	3	...	...	...	Alaska.....	4	...	...	...
New Hampshire....	8	...	...	...					
New Jersey.....	20	...	...	...	Totals.....	533 $\frac{1}{2}$	277 $\frac{1}{2}$	39	45

\* Cast no vote. † Not voting, 5. ‡ Not voting, 3. § Not voting, 7.

The scattering votes were cast as follows:—Walker, 24; Lippitt, 8; Reed, 3; Fred. Grant, 2; Depew, 3; Morton, 1; Thurston, 2; Brown, 2. The absentees numbered 29.

After several other items of business had been disposed of, the Convention voted a final adjournment.

Following the Convention, the advocates of silver, led by Senator Teller, of Col. and Senator Cannon, of Utah, issued an address to the people of the United States, setting forth their views in strong language, and naming Mr. Teller



as candidate for the Presidency on a platform of Free Silver coinage.

During the last day's session of the Convention the people of Canton, Ohio, Mr. McKinley's place of residence, were in a state of great excitement.

When the telegraph at 4.14 P. M. clicked off the



SENATOR CANNON.

deciding vote in the ballot at St. Louis the town went into a state of wild, hilarious enthusiasm that could no more be checked or held in control than the demonstration in the convention itself. The same moment that the last spark twinkled its message the huge city fire-alarm gong sounded out 918 four consecutive times. Simultaneously a huge

parade of some 15,000 of Major McKinley's fellow-soldiers and fellow-citizens formed by prearrange-



DEMONSTRATION AT CANTON ON RECEIVING NEWS OF M'KINLEY'S NOMINATION.

ment in front of the court house, escorted by three companies of militia under the command of Captain

Harry Frease, with several bands and drum corps, paraded up North Market Street to Governor McKinley's home on the hill. The identical click that notified Governor McKinley of his nomination set the fire-alarm gong going.



MRS. WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

At length the formal exercises of the demonstration began. First Governor McKinley mounted a chair and bowed to the throng of cheering people. Then Chairman Case mounted another chair and spoke as follows:—

“Major McKinley—Your neighbors and towns-

men wish to be first to congratulate you upon your nomination to the highest office within the gift of the people. None know better than these neighbors here assembled how well this honor is merited.

“They come to congratulate you as neighbors, without distinction of party, bearing in mind that, while you have acted in a broader field, you have not lost sight of the duties and obligations of the citizen, and that, amid your many cares and responsibilities, you have always found time and opportunity to lend your valued assistance to all that makes for good in your community. We all unite in extending to you our hearty congratulations and good wishes.”

There was a sea of faces for blocks about, and after a whirlwind of applause had greeted ex-Governor McKinley he responded as follows :

“My friends and fellow-citizens :—I am greatly honored by this demonstration. Its non-partisan character forbids political discussion, and I appear only to make grateful acknowledgment to your address and congratulations.

“I am not indifferent to the pleasure which you exhibit at the news just received from the Republican National Convention. For days your interest has been centred upon St. Louis, and your presence here in such vast numbers testifies to your personal good will as well as your gratification with the work there done. Your cordial assurances are all the more appreciated by me because they come from my fellow-citizens, men of all parties, my neighbors, my former constituents, and my old army comrades, with whom I have lived almost a

life-time, and who have honored me over and over again with important public trusts.

“Your warm words are reciprocated and will be long remembered. Many of these around me have not always agreed with me, nor I with them, touching political questions. But it is pleasant, as I look into your faces, to recall that in all the years of the past there has never been a moment of time when you have withheld from me your friendship, your encouragement and your confidence.

“You have always been most generously loyal, and my heart is full of gratitude to you all.

“There is nothing more gratifying or honorable to any man than to have the regard and esteem of his fellow-townsmen, and in this I have been peculiarly blessed. Never were neighbors more devoted or more unfaltering in their support than you have been to me. You have always made my cause your cause, and my home among you has been one of increasing pleasure.

“This county and city are very dear to me. Here I have spent all of my young manhood, and I have been identified with this magnificent county for nearly a third of a century. I have followed its growth with unconcealed pride, and have noted with satisfaction that it has kept pace with the most advanced and prosperous communities, and has fallen behind none.

“I am glad to greet you here. You have never failed to greet me with your best wishes and congratulations upon every occasion of my nomination to a public office, commencing twenty years ago, when I was first named by my party for Congress.

“I cannot undertake to estimate the value of these many friendly demonstrations, so helpful, so stimulating, more so than you could have anticipated or believed at the time. Your call to-day is warmly appreciated, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for what you have said, so expressive of the feelings of those for whom you speak. This latest evidence of your esteem makes me more than ever indebted to you, and the happy memory of your kindness and confidence will abide with me forever.”

Mr. McKinley's speech was received with every demonstration of approval, and the crowd manifested its delight by uproarious applause.



# HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN:

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Nominee of the Democratic Party for President.

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ON Friday, July 10, 1896, the youngest man ever nominated for the Presidency by any influential party received a majority of the votes in the National Democratic Convention at Chicago. On the preceding day, Mr. Bryan made a captivating speech on the silver-coinage question and kindred topics, and his nomination was the result, as previously to that period in the Convention there was scarcely a mention of his name for first place on the ticket.

William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic nominee, has been considered the greatest orator in the history of Nebraska. He has long been the idol of the free-silver wing of the Nebraska Democracy.

Mr. Bryan was born in Salem, Marion County, Ill., on March 19, 1860. At the age of fifteen he entered Whipple Academy at Jacksonville; in 1877 he entered Illinois College, and graduated valedictorian in 1881. For the next two years he attended the Union Law College, Chicago,

studying in the office of Hon. Lyman Trumbull. After graduation he began practice at Jacksonville.

In 1887 he removed to Lincoln, Neb., and



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

became a member of the law firm of Talbot & Bryan. He was elected to Congress in the First Nebraska District in 1890, over W. J. Connell, of Omaha, and was re-elected in 1892 over Allen W. Field, of

Lincoln. In 1894 Mr. Bryan declined a third nomination, and was nominated by the Democratic State Convention for the United States Senate by the unanimous vote of the Convention. The Republicans, however, had a majority in the Legislature, and Bryan was defeated for the Senatorship. Since Mr. Bryan's Congressional term expired he has given his time exclusively to spreading the doctrine of free silver.

He first appeared in the political arena of Nebraska in the campaign of 1888, when he stumped the First District for J. Sterling Morton, nominee for Congress. The same year he declined a nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. On July 30, 1890, he was nominated for Congress, and wrote a platform on which he ran. Nobody but himself thought he could be elected. He stumped the district on the tariff issue, and won fame as a political orator throughout the State. This beautiful language has been used by an admirer to describe his graces as an orator :

### Bryan the Orator.

“Bryan neglects none of the accessories of oratory. Nature richly dowered him with rare grace. He is happy in attitude and pose. His gestures are on Hogarth's line of beauty. Mellow is the word that most aptly describes his voice. It is strong enough to be heard by thou-

sands; it is sweet enough to charm those least inclined to music. It is so modulated as not to vex the ear with monotony, and can be stern or pathetic, fierce or gentle, serious or humorous with the varying emotions of its master.

“In his youth Bryan must have had a skillful teacher in elocution, and must have been a docile pupil. He enriches his speeches with illustrations from the classics or from the common occurrences of every-day life with equal felicity and facility. Some passages from his orations are gems, and are being used as declamations by boys at school. But his crowning gift as an orator is his evident sincerity. He is candor incarnate, and thoroughly believes what he says himself.”

### His Home and Family.

Mr. Bryan lives well in a commodious dwelling in the fashionable part of Lincoln. His family consists of Mrs. Bryan; Ruth, aged eleven; William J., Jr., aged six, and Grace, aged five. The study, in which both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan have desks, is a very attractive room. It is filled with books, statuary and mementoes of campaigns. There are busts or portraits of noted men, and there are two butcher knives which Mr. Bryan used in the campaign with Field to refute the latter's boast of the effects of high protection.

Last year Mr. Bryan was asked if he had any

aspirations looking to the White House, and he said: "No; I have no wish to be a Presidential candidate, neither now nor in the years to come. My whole thought now is centred on my family and my profession, so far as my personal desires go. I was brought up in the country, and I wish my children to have some of the same rearing. They are now of the age when they need a father's care, and I wish to get into practice again, for I very much enjoy the law, which has been necessarily abandoned during my four years in Washington."

### The Populists Like Him.

This is the way an admirer of Bryan describes one of his triumphs:

"It was Mr. Bryan who achieved the greatest triumph within his party when, in the State Convention two years ago, by common consent he took the leadership. It was he who advised his followers to indorse the candidacy of Silas A. Holcomb, who had been nominated by the Populists of Nebraska for the office of Governor. It was also upon Mr. Bryan's recommendation that the same convention indorsed the candidacy of other men on the Populist ticket.

"What he did then gave Nebraska the first Populist Governor and worked the defeat of the Republicans, the sole object sought by Mr. Bryan and his followers. The consistent course

of Mr. Bryan as a silver advocate, and the kindly feeling he has all along, as a Democrat, evinced for the Populists of Nebraska, have made him many friends in the Populist Party throughout the West. He will, more than any other Western man, draw support from the Populist organization."

### His Populistic Leaning.

The following extracts from speeches of Mr. Bryan show how close his approach is to Populism of the worst kind:

"The gentlemen who are so fearful of socialism when the poor are exempted from an income tax, view with indifference those methods of taxation which give the rich a substantial exemption. They weep more because \$15,000,000 are to be collected from the incomes of the rich than they do at the collection of \$300,000,000 upon the goods which the poor consume. And when an attempt is made to equalize these burdens, not fully, but partially only, the people of the South and West are called Anarchists. I deny the accusation, sir. It is among the people of the South and West, on the prairies and on the mountains, that you find the staunchest supporters of government and the best friends of law and order.

"You may not find among these people the great fortunes which are accumulated in cities, nor will you find the dark shadows which these



fortunes throw over the community, but you will find those willing to protect the rights of property, even while they demand that property shall bear its share of taxation. You may not find among them as much of wealth, but you will find men who are not only willing to pay their taxes in support of the Government, but are willing whenever necessary to offer up their lives in its defense. These people, sir, whom you call Anarchists because they ask that the burdens of government shall be equally borne, these people have ever borne the cross on Calvary and saved their country with their blood."

#### Two Additional Gems.

"The poor man who takes property by force," Bryan said in one of his silver-tongued deliverances, "is called a thief, but the creditor who can by legislation make a debtor pay a dollar twice as large as he borrowed is lauded as the friend of sound currency. The man who wants people to destroy the Government is an Anarchist, but the man who wants the Government to destroy the people is a patriot."

"I may be in error," said Bryan on another occasion, "but in my humble judgment he who would rob man of his necessary food or pollute the springs at which he quenches his thirst, or steal away from him his accustomed rest, or condemn his mind to the gloomy night of ignorance, is no more an enemy of his race than the man who, deaf

to the entreaties of the poor and blind to the suffering he would cause, seeks to destroy one of the money metals given by the Almighty to supply the needs of commerce."

### Several Thoughts Mirrored.

Bryan's thoughts are mirrored in the following signed dispatches sent out by him before his name was presented at Chicago :

"There was a time when President Cleveland had to face the question of turning either to the Plutocracy or to the Democracy. Had he been a Jackson or a Jefferson he would have turned to the common people, and there would have been no need of the Convention here to-day to repudiate his policy.

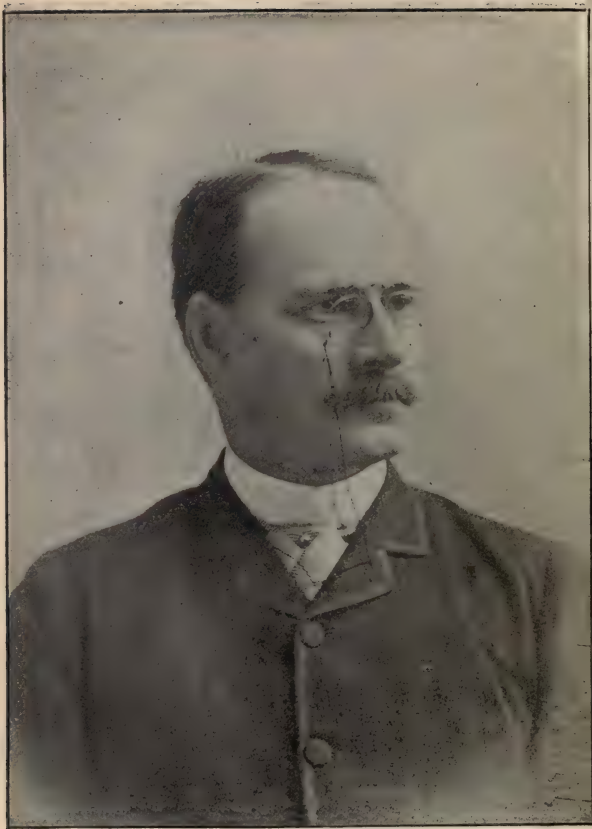
"Those who have been heretofore recognized as Democrats and who do not wish to stand with us in carrying out the provisions of the Chicago platform must find a location for themselves.

"I have but little doubt that Mr. Cleveland and all those Democrats who choose to follow him will have a ticket of their own in 1896, and will insist that they are the Democratic Party. They think the silver sentiment a craze, and that it is going to blow over.

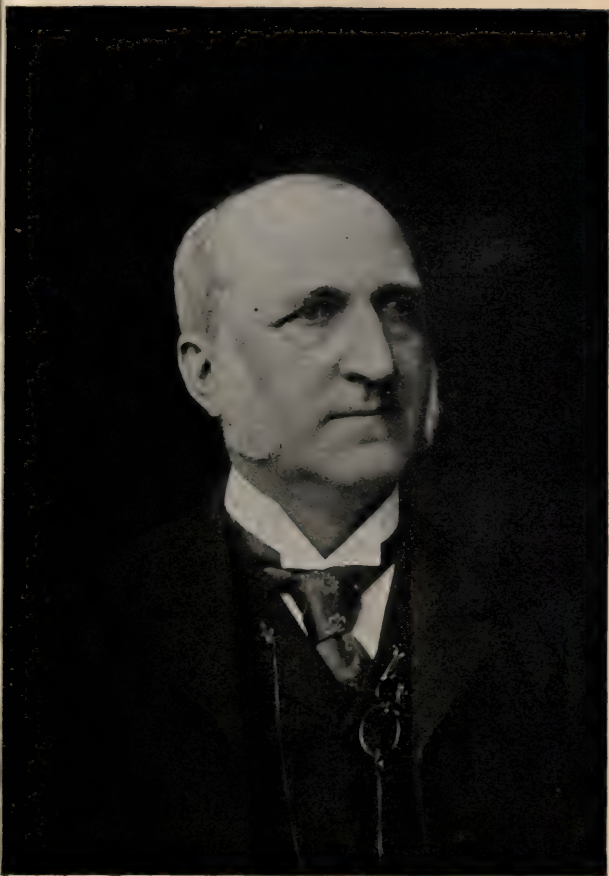
"That makes me think of a story. Out in the Northwest, where the wind is high, the fences are sometimes blown down and sometimes the houses are blown over. A man was going along one day



*Grover Cleveland*



WILLIAM C. WHITNEY.

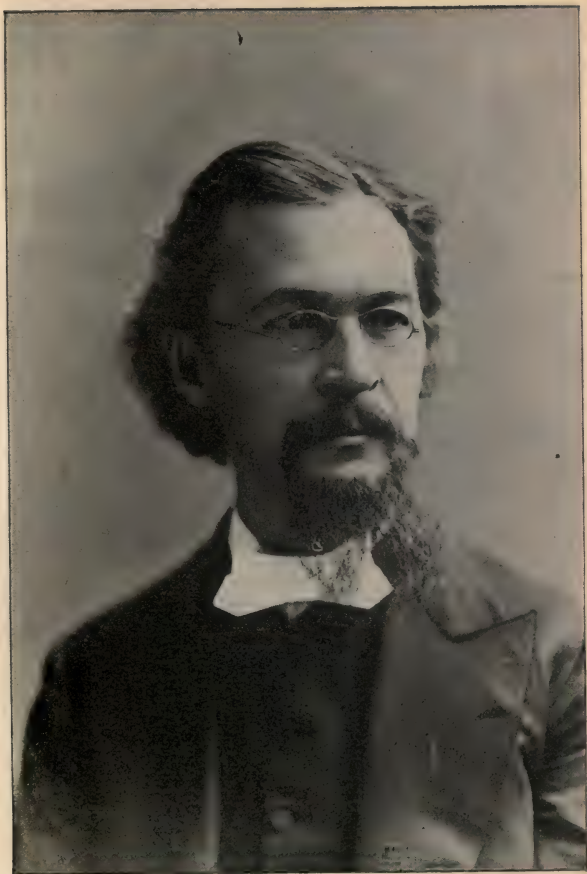


CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

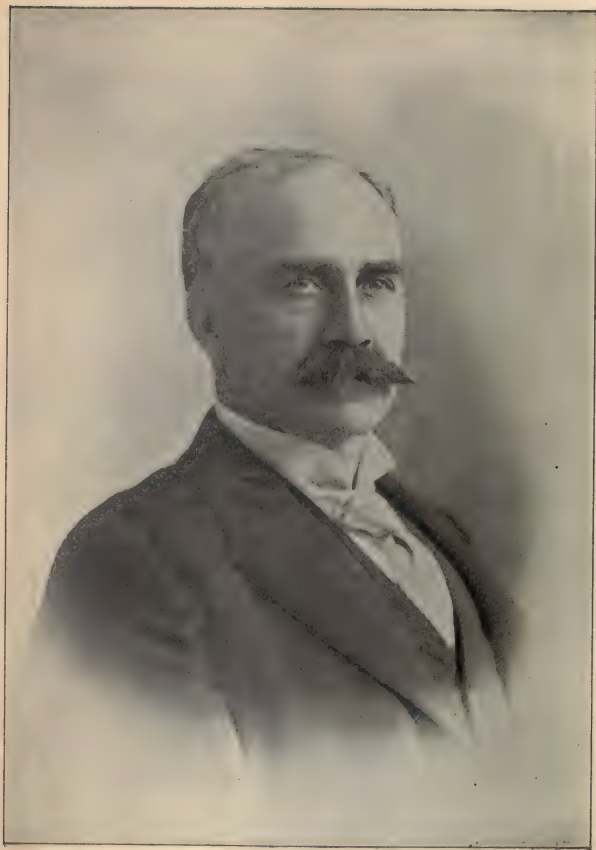


WILLIAM B. ALLISON





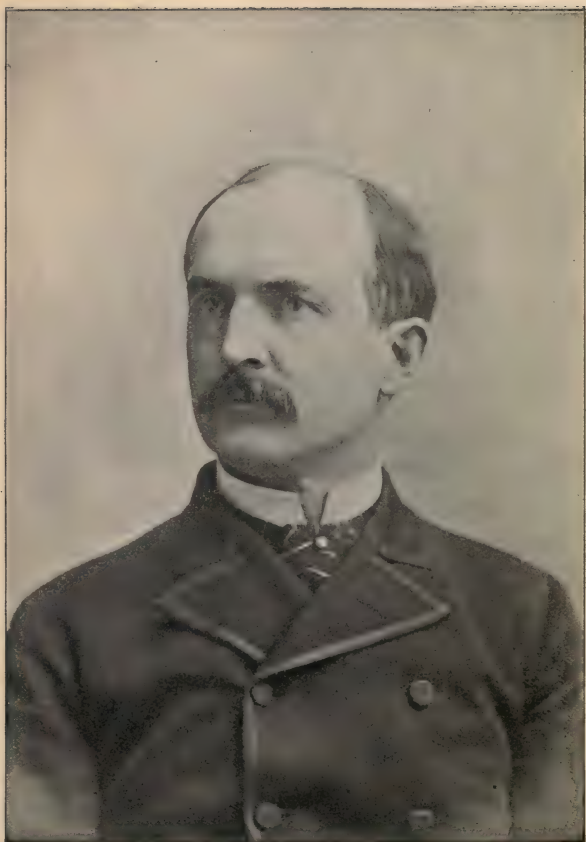
REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D. D.



JUDSON HARMON



HORACE BOIES.



JAMES E. CAMPBELL

and found another building a fence. He was putting it up solidly, with mortar and stone. The man said: 'You are putting a good deal of time on that fence. Don't you think it will blow over?' And the man who was building the fence replied: 'That is just the way I am building it. It is five feet wide and four feet high, and when it blows over it will be one foot higher than it is now.' That is the way they are building this silver craze. It is wider than it is high, and when it does blow over it will be higher than it is now.

"I am not a believer in either free silver or gold, but am an out-and-out bimetallist. It is clearly apparent to me that financial stringency does not hinge on the amount of money in circulation, but rather on the influences that control circulation. The very best times we ever had occurred when there was a very low rate of money per capita in circulation."

#### As to the Farmer.

"We have already suffered grievously because of the fall in prices. The last census shows a decrease in the proportion of farm owners, and an increase in the proportion of farm tenants. It also shows a farm mortgage debt which is truly alarming. The continued appreciation of gold—that is, the continual fall in prices—increases the number of tenants and makes harder every year the life of the farmer.

“He who aids in increasing landlordism in this country hastens the overthrow of the Republic, for free government will not long survive when a few own the land and means of support, while the many are tenants at will. No one would dare to propose a law increasing the number of dollars to be paid by a debtor. To increase the size of the dollar by legislation has exactly the same effect.

“That dollar will soon cease to be called honest, which grows fatter every day. Tariff reform grew strong in the West and South, while it was rejected as a heresy in the East. It took years of struggle to carry the cause of tariff reform across the Alleghenies, but the principle conquered in time.

“The protective policy was never as disastrous to the agricultural classes as a gold standard would be, for, while protection lessened the stream, gold monometallism would dry up the very fountain of prosperity.

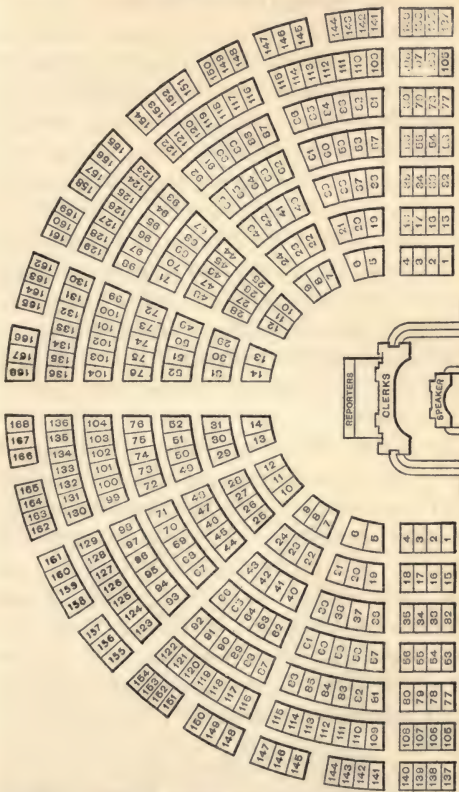
“The friends of the ‘gold and silver coinage of the Constitution’ need not be discouraged. Strong in the all-conquering might of right, their principles will triumph, and that triumph will be signalized by a return of prosperity to the great masses of our people. ‘Tariff reform’ and ‘the coinage of the Constitution’ will remain the two great issues until secured.”



NORTHERN DOOR

EASTERN DOOR

WESTERN DOOR



PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

### A Giant Among Giants.

In 1890, when only 30 years of age, Bryan was elected a member of the House from the First District of Nebraska, where he located immediately after his admission to the bar. During the consideration of the single tariff bills, which were brought to the House during the first session of that Congress, Mr. Bryan electrified his colleagues by the force and vigor of his utterances, his intimate knowledge of economic matters, the gracefulness of his oratory and his ability to sustain himself with credit against the ablest debaters upon the Republican side of the chamber. His time, on that occasion, was repeatedly extended, and he spoke in all several hours.

He awoke the next morning to find himself famous. Nor was it an ephemeral fame. He became from that day a conspicuous figure in a House which included such giants of debate as Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Bourke Cockran, and John R. Fellows, of New York; Dingley and Reed, of Maine; Springer, of Illinois; Lodge, of Massachusetts; Oates, of Alabama, and William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, who now holds the office of Postmaster-General.

### Wife of the Nominee.

One of the women most talked about in all sections of the country to-day is Mrs. William Jen-

nings Bryan, wife of the Democratic nominee for President of the United States. People who have seen and know Mrs. Bryan think she is more than a wife to the Democratic standard-bearer. They regard her as his adviser, assistant, companion and friend—a woman of extraordinary intellectual ability, strong in character, feminine withal and a loving mother.

Mrs. Bryan's head is the most noticeable thing about her. It is very shapely, and the heavy dark brown hair is always brushed smoothly back from a very high, full forehead. The hair is thick, soft and fine, and simply coiled into a mass on top of the head. Mrs. Bryan isn't pretty nor handsome, but she has a strikingly intelligent and strong face. The eyes are dark and large and expressive. The nose is large with good width between the eyes. The mouth and chin might almost have been cast in the same mould as Bryan's own, so striking is the resemblance in firmness and determination.

Mrs. Bryan would sacrifice and endure anything once she had made up her mind that a thing was right. She has ideals and will consider her husband's nomination as righteous and a step toward what the Bryans maintain is the correction of the wrongs of the masses of the people. She has a sweet and well-trained voice in talking, and the men and women who penetrate her reserve, appreciate her honesty of purpose and sincerity. She

despises shams of every kind, and, above all, is natural and unaffected.

It would require more than the possibility of ruling in the White House to turn this woman's head. With all this Mrs. Bryan is not at all assertive. She might elect to run White House affairs according to her own ideas and not after the manner of so-called official society, but no one who came in contact with her could help respecting her and in time admiring her character.

Bryan and all his friends admit the wife has held up the hands of her husband more than effectively, and Bryan himself takes no praise that does not include his wife. Briefly, she is a pale-faced, intellectual slip of a woman. She has an immense amount of determination and silent aggressiveness, is rather studious and very reserved. She does not care for fashion or society, and pays no attention whatever to either.

Before her marriage to Bryan she was Mary Baird. They first met and loved in Illinois. When they were married and went to Nebraska to live the husband studied law. So did Mrs. Bryan, and they studied together. Then Bryan found himself getting into politics, but Mrs. Bryan kept on with her law studies, took her examinations and was admitted to practice. All this was done that she might work with and help her husband.

In this connection Mrs. Bryan said: "It amused

me after I was graduated to see the women in our town. Of course it was then a little unusual for a woman to be admitted to practice. My friends called in numbers on me, and it was queer to see how they manoeuvred to approach the subject. About half of them finally got to it, but one and all seemed to think that I was a bigger curiosity than a mummy."

Mrs. Bryan can be very sarcastic when sufficiently roused, and at any time will say droll witty things with only a gleam of a smile in her dark eyes.

She is the mother of three children, and is very domestic in her inclinations. When it was discovered that she was a lawyer, a Congressman who meant to be very agreeable inquired of her with what line of law she was most familiar.

Mrs. Bryan's quick answer was : "Domestic relations, sir."

Attention was first drawn to Mrs. Bryan at the time Bryan made his famous tariff speech in the House. Inside of a few hours, in the midst of the adulation he was receiving, Bryan generously declared that his wife deserved a share in the praise. A week before the big speech was made Bryan had delivered a eulogy on a dead colleague. Mrs. Bryan then, unknown even to her husband's colleagues, sat in the gallery and carefully noted the volume of tone required by Bryan to fill the hall. Anything more deliberate could hardly be con-

ceived. By means of signals the husband on the floor and the wife in the gallery communicated, and he increased or lowered his voice at her suggestion until she had satisfied herself that he had struck the most effective tone.

When Bryan began his speech his wife was in the gallery. At first he held a low voice. Mrs. Bryan nodded for fuller tones. Her eyes never left his face except to study the effect some sentence might have on the House. From time to time Bryan glanced for encouragement at the pale face of the woman in the gallery, and when it was over there was one quick glance of intelligence; both knew that their work had been well done, and the woman sank back in her seat almost overcome by the intensity of her satisfaction and relief.

Referring to the Democratic ideas of the Bryans, a popular writer says: "They went out very seldom in Washington, and then only on official occasions. I never heard of Mrs. Bryan appearing in evening dress during their Washington life, don't think she ever possessed a low-cut gown, nor a dress with silk linings, and Bryan surely never has owned a dress suit. They never attended fashionable dinners and certainly gave none themselves.

"The Bryans when in Washington lived in a small quiet boarding-house on Capitol Hill, three blocks from the Capitol itself. There was a real-estate office in a part of the ground floor. During



their stay in Washington they had rooms on the second floor. Mrs. Bryan always wore the simplest gray, brown and black dresses made in the plainest fashion. She wore no jewels because they were living as economically as possible and had no money to waste in such frivolity. Then Mrs. Bryan's tastes did not run in that direction."

## HON. ARTHUR SEWALL:

Democratic Nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

Arthur Sewall was born in Bath, Me., in 1835. He bears his three score and odd years as if they were but forty-five. He is of medium height, rather stout build, ruddy-faced, keen-eyed, and generally well preserved.

From the days he left school, early in the fifties, to the present he has been devoted to ship-building. His father before him, William D. Sewall, opened up his shipyards in Bath, Me., in 1825, and from the launching of the first chubby little "Diana" in that year down to the great steel steamer "Dirigo" was put afloat in 1894 the house of Sewall has led the country in designs for merchant vessels, and to-day the house of Sewall & Sons own the largest sailor merchantmen afloat.

The Sewalls are an old and well-known family, on both sides of the water. The first American Sewall came to this country in 1654. James

Sewall, grandfather of the shipbuilder, fought in the Revolution. He went from York, Me., to Bath, in 1762, and purchased the tract of land on



ARTHUR SEWALL.

which to this day are located the Sewall shipyards and the houses of the Sewall family.

It is now seventy-one years since the Sewalls

began building ships, and during that time they have owned ninety-five of them.

Arthur Sewall, the Vice-Presidential candidate, who succeeded his father in the ship-building industry, was at first associated with his brother under the firm name of E. & A. Sewall. The firm is now A. Sewall & Co. Associated with Mr. Sewall are William D. Sewall, his son, and Samuel S. Sewall, his nephew. The elder Sewall grew up in the shipyard and on the seashore, acquiring a popularity with business life and affairs which has since served him well. He is in every sense a man of affairs—a capitalist. There is hardly a corporation in Sagadahoc County in which he is not a director, whether it is bank, factory or railroad.

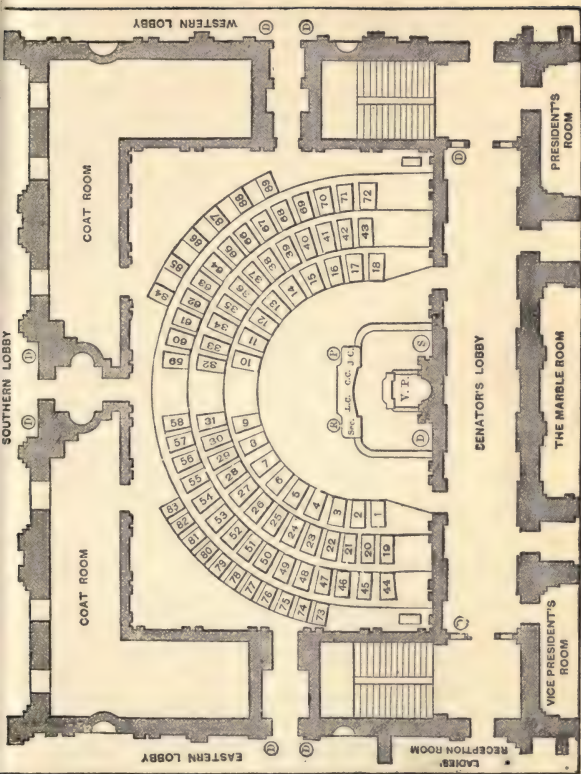
For nine years, ending in 1893, he was President of the Maine Central Railroad, and then only resigned to place a man of his own choice in the same position. He is President of the Fourth National Bank of Maine. He was for years prominent in the management of the Mexican Central & Sonora Railroad. He was President for a time of the Eastern Railroad, and is now a director. In all these he has shown himself to be the keen, shrewd and progressive business man. Under his management the Maine Central changed from a third-class iron railroad to a first-class steel railroad, with every modern appliance.

When the question : " Shall the steamships 'City of Paris' and 'City of New York' be admitted to American registry?" was exciting the shipping men of the country, and particularly of Bath, the man who stepped forward, and speaking as the largest builder of sailing ships in America, showed that the admission of these vessels would be the first step in the way of reviving the merchant marine, convinced by sheer logic those who were most bitterly opposed to the measure, and thus made possible the indorsement of it by such men as Senator Frye and Nelson Dingley.

When a few years ago he completed that magnificent fleet of ships, of which the "Roanoke" is a type, he decided, and he was the first New England shipbuilder to do so, that the time of wood in the ocean marine was past; that the age of steel had come. After a prolonged visit to the great yards in England and Ireland, he returned to Bath and put up a complete modern steel plant.

The part of his whole life, and that in which he takes the greatest interest, is his career as a ship builder and ship owner. His belief in the future of American shipping has never flagged, even when he saw so many of the associates of his youth go out of the business.

In politics Mr. Sewall has been a life-long Democrat. He never voted any other ticket, and for



PLAN OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

the past eight years had been Maine's representative on the Democratic National Committee until a few days ago, when Dr. S. H. C. Gordon succeeded him. He was an original Cleveland man, and followed the career of the Buffalo statesman up until a couple of years ago, notwithstanding the fact that he shared something of the protection views of the late Samuel J. Randall. Ever since the Greenback victory which swept over Maine, Mr. Sewall has been a close student of financial questions, and this has crystallized in him to a thorough belief in bimetallism and the free coinage of both silver and gold. Mr. Sewall was a candidate for United States Senator against Senator Eugene Hale in 1893.

It was Mr. Sewall's free-coinage proclivities which led his fellow-delegates to leave him off the National Committee.

In 1859 Mr. Sewall married Emily Duncan Crooker, daughter of a prominent citizen of Bath. Three children were born to them, Harold Sewall, former Consul-General to Samoa; William Sewall, a junior member of the ship-building firm, and Demmer Sewall, who died in infancy. Harold Sewall was sent to Samoa at the time of the Samoan outbreak, by President Cleveland. Later he became a Republican, and at the recent Convention in St. Louis he headed a Reed Republican Club from Bath.



## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1896.

Crowds from the city were assembled in constantly increasing numbers at the front of the Coliseum in Chicago, at eleven o'clock, July 7th, 1896, but all the doors were closed. The newspaper men strove in vain to raise the blockade so far as they were concerned. The orders of the Sergeant-at-arms, stupidly conceived, and as stupidly executed, kept them out until, at last, a few of them managed to effect an entrance and to make the way clear for many of their associates.

In the meantime, without any imaginable good reason for it, delegates and alternates and persons holding tickets of admission were kept out in the broiling sunshine, victims of the persons "clothed with a little brief authority."

Finally, at half-past eleven o'clock, there was a sweeping of the human wave through the vestibule of the hall—the portion cut off from the rest of the building—and the seats began to fill up, to the music of a brass band playing popular airs.

As the hour of noon drew near the sections assigned to delegates were gradually occupied. Occasionally a large delegation entered with banners and flags, and accompanied by bands of music. The Iowa delegation bore along a silk flag,

on which were imprinted the benevolent looking features of its candidate, Horace Boies.

### Cheering for "Dixie."

Another delegation was attended by a splendid band, which played in succession the "Red, White and Blue," "Marching Through Georgia," "Maryland, My Maryland," and "Dixie." When the first strains of "Dixie" were heard, the whole audience stood up and cheered enthusiastically, and at that moment, as if by pre-arrangement, Senator Daniel, of Virginia, appeared and took a seat on the platform.

Senators Vest, of Missouri; Lindsay, of Kentucky, and Stewart, of Nevada, with Representative McMillin, of Tennessee, had at that time taken seats on the platform. W. C. Whitney appeared as a proxy and took his seat among the New York delegates without any demonstration. So did former Postmaster-General Bissell. William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, also took his seat as a proxy among the delegates from his State.

Senator Hill and Roswell P. Flower entered the hall at half-past twelve o'clock, closely followed by William F. Sheehan, and they were greeted with cheers, many delegates rising to do them honor. Senator Blackburn, of Kentucky, came in soon afterward and was also honored with cheers. The Pennsylvania delegation occupied a half dozen of

the front rows of seats, and was conspicuous by the fact that each delegate carried in his hand a small flag and wore on his breast a wide red ribbon bearing the name "Pattison."

### Opened with Prayer.

The Convention was called to order at one o'clock by Mr. Harrity, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who asked that all present should arise and stand while prayer was offered by the Rev. Ernst H. Stires, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Chicago, who prayed in part:

"Almighty God, the hearts of Thy people are lifted in gratitude to Thee for the manifold blessings Thou hast vouchsafed to our country from the dawn of its independence unto this day. We thank Thee for the wisdom and courage which enabled our fathers to build better than they knew, for deliverance from all dangers within and without our borders, and for our unparalleled progress in times of prosperity and peace. O God of our fathers, continue to guide and sustain Thy children. In our doubts and fears and distress, we cry unto Thee for help. Grant us wisdom to know among all the perplexing problems of this time where lies the path of honor and safety.

"Upon the great Convention now assembled in Thy presence send Thy gracious blessing. May its members be inspired with the most exalted

patriotism, seeking no private or sectional advantage, but only the national good, so that our united and prosperous land may continue to be, in all that is truest and best, an inspiration to the nations of the earth. And to Thee, our God, shall we ascribe all the honor and glory, forever and ever. Amen !”

### Beginning the Proceedings.

Chairman Harrity, in slow deliberate tones said :

“Gentlemen of the Convention :—By direction of the Democratic National Committee I desire to report the following as the temporary organization of the Convention :—Temporary chairman, David B. Hill, of New York ” ——

Then there was an outbreak of applause, which lasted for two minutes. A delegate from Minnesota got up to make a motion, and the Chairman, intending to ring for order, rang the bell for the band to play, remarking as the band started up amidst laughter :—“ I rang the wrong bell.”

The rest of the temporary organization report was read by Mr. Harrity :—“ For temporary secretary, Simon B. Sheerin, of Indiana ; for sergeant-at-arms, Colonel John I. Martin, of Missouri.

“ What is the pleasure of the Convention,” Mr. Harrity asked, “ on the report as made from the Democratic National Committee ? ”

Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, advanced to the platform and said :—

“Gentlemen of the Democratic National Convention—On behalf of twenty-three members of your National Committee, as opposed to twenty-seven, and, as I believe, in accordance with the wish of the great majority of this nation, I am authorized to present to this Convention a minority recommendation, which I shall move as a substitute for a part of the motion made by the chairman of the National Committee.”

Mr. Clayton then presented this substitute for the majority report :—

“The undersigned members of the Democratic National Committee respectfully recommend that the name of Hon. John W. Daniel, of Virginia, be substituted in the committee report for that of the Hon. David B. Hill, of New York, and that the Hon. John W. Daniel be chosen temporary chairman of this Convention.”

This was signed by Henry D. Clayton, Alabama; Mr. MacRae, Arkansas; Michael F. Tarpey, California; C. M. Thomas, Colorado; Samuel Pasco, Florida; Clark Howell, Georgia; C. W. Blair, Kansas; Arthur Sewall, Maine; D. J. Campau, Michigan; A. J. Davidson, Montana; R. P. Keating, Nevada; F. H. Busbee, North Carolina; William C. Zeistikow, North Dakota; M. L. Donaldson, South Carolina; P. J. Otey, Virginia; J. W. Burton, Utah; W. J. Kutkendall, Wyoming; C. W. Shannon, Arizona; J. L. Norris, District of

Columbia; H. B. Ferguson, New Mexico; F. M. Richardson, Oklahoma; J. L. Owen, Indian Territory.

### Greeted With Cheers.

Mr. Clayton concluded by demanding the call of States and a roll call, and cheers and cries of "Call the roll" were raised.

C. M. Thomas, of Colorado, seconded the minority report, and again cries of "Roll call" were raised, and Mr. Harrity said:—

"It might as well be understood, gentlemen, that as long as the present occupant is in the chair, the proceedings will be conducted in a regular, orderly manner," an announcement which was received with general applause.

Allan McDermott, of New Jersey, was then recognized to speak in support of the majority report. Ex-Governor Waller, of Connecticut, also opposed the minority report. There were no abler men, he said, and no braver Democrats than the two men whose names were involved in this preliminary discussion. They should be honored together—Senator Hill, of New York, and Senator Daniel, of Virginia. Said Mr. Waller:—

"You ought to elect David B. Hill as your temporary chairman, and every man in this Convention, whether 16 to 1 or 1 to 16, ought to vote for him. And then you ought to elect Senator Daniel, of Virginia, as permanent chairman. And I



will vouch for it that every man in this Convention whom I assume specially to represent will vote for Daniel and will cheer for Daniel so that the reverberation of that cheer will be heard in Virginia."

C. E. Waller, of Alabama, also advocated the adoption of the minority report and reminded the Convention that the great State of New York had received the Presidential nomination for the last thirty-five years. The people of the South, he declared, had the highest regard and respect for Senator Hill, but he wanted to know how it was that the servant, the National Committee, assumed to be greater than its master.

Mr. Tarpey, of California, argued that if the Convention chose as its temporary chairman a man who represented the anti-silver side of the question it would imply a lukewarmness and weakness in the Convention which the Democratic Party could not afford. The choice of temporary chairman would sound the keynote of the campaign, and he wanted that keynote to be sounded by a silver representative, not by a gold representative.

### Calling the Roll.

The roll call progressed without special incident until Illinois was reached. Then cheers greeted the announcement of forty-eight yeas.

When Iowa was reached the vote as announced

—twenty-six yeas—was challenged and a roll call of the delegation demanded. The result was nineteen yeas and seven nays. Chairman Harrity stated that, as the delegation had been instructed to act as a unit, the vote would be recorded as twenty-six yeas.

The vote of Kentucky was also challenged on the ground that the delegation had been instructed to vote as a unit, and the Chair again ruled that the roll might be called in order to test the accuracy of the vote. As Senator Blackburn's name was called and he voted "Aye," there were cheers, and demonstrations of dissent and applause when two delegates voted "No." The Chairman repeated his ruling that under the unit rule the whole delegation must be recorded twenty-six yeas.

The chairman of the Michigan delegation announced that a poll of the delegation stood 12 ayes to 14 noes, but under the unit rule he had pleasure in casting the whole 26 votes for David B. Hill. A poll was demanded and resulted as stated by the chairman, and Mr. Harrity again ruled that the 26 votes must be cast as a unit.

Mr. Flower cast the vote of New York—Senator Hill not voting—as 71 noes amid applause.

After the calling of the roll was completed it was announced that the vote stood as follows: Daniel, 556; Hill, 349.

The Chair appointed Senator Jones, of Arkansas; R. P. Keating, of Nevada, and Senator White, of California, the committee to escort Senator Daniel to the chair.

### Daniel Takes the Gavel.

The greatest demonstration of the day up to this time occurred when Senator Daniel came forward. Delegates stood in their chairs and yelled with might and main, waving canes, handkerchiefs and flags. The band aided the enthusiasm by starting up a patriotic air and the delegates stamped, clapped and cheered with a vociferousness that threatened to drown the efforts of the musicians.



JOHN W. DANIEL.

Senator Daniel, on taking the chair, expressed profound gratitude for the honor conferred upon him, and expressed his regret that his name should have been brought in even the most courteous competition with his distinguished friend Senator Hill, who would readily recognize the fact, however, that there was no personality in the matter.

Mr. Daniel closed by announcing that the National Democratic Convention was now in session and would proceed to the business of organization. Immediately there arose cries of "Hill!" from all parts of the hall, and the sergeant-at-arms was called on to restore order. Senator Jones, of Arkansas, offered resolutions of thanks to Chairman Harrity, which were adopted, for the manner in which he had discharged his duty as presiding officer.

A resolution that the rules of the Fifty-third Congress govern the Convention until otherwise ordered was offered by Senator White, of California, and adopted. On motion of former Governor Hogg, of Texas, the roll was called, to give each State and Territory an opportunity to name its selections for the committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business and Platform. Loud cries of "Hill!" were renewed before the question could be put, but the New York Senator did not respond and the call proceeded.

General E. B. Finley, of Ohio, in behalf of the contestants from South Dakota, entered a protest against any of the members whose names are now accredited to South Dakota being appointed to serve on committees. Chairman Daniel decided, however, that the contests could be decided only by reference to the Committee on Credentials, and

that the request of the contestants could not be granted.

When the various committees had been appointed the members withdrew for organization, and the Convention then, at a quarter to five o'clock, adjourned until the next morning at ten o'clock.

### Second Day of the Convention.

The business of the Convention was to have begun at ten o'clock, but punctuality is not a cardinal virtue of this Convention, and for an hour after that time the thousands of spectators were entertained by musical selections, interspersed with cheers, by a band in the gallery back of the platform.

There were few demonstrations for public favorites as they entered the hall. One of them started, with not much spirit, for Bryan, the "Boy Orator of the Platte," who, with his fellow silver delegates from Nebraska, had gained a point by the report of the Committee on Credentials admitting them and excluding their gold contestants.

The temporary chairman called the Convention to order a few minutes before eleven o'clock and announced that its proceedings would be opened by prayer by the Rev. Thomas Edward Green, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The prayer called for "special blessing on this

Convention, assembled from all over our fair land," and asked that the minds of the delegates should be "dominated for good, for humanity and for God," and "that what they did might tell in the years to come for the advancement and lifting up of our human kind."

Senator White, permanent chairman-elect, relieved Senator Daniel of the gavel and presided



STEPHEN N. WHITE.

over the informal proceedings of the Convention which followed, Mr. Daniel being in poor voice after his exertions of yesterday.

Senator Martin, of Kansas, was recognized and moved an informal recess of five minutes to permit Governor Hogg, of Texas, to address the

Convention. The motion was adopted, but a stray band in the gallery, out of the reach of the chairman's gavel, kept on playing "Dixie" for nearly ten minutes before it could be stopped.

Governor Hogg advocated the cultivation of a spirit of friendliness in order to win the victory next November. Every Democrat in the United



States, he said, should lay aside his prejudices and march with his rival brother against the common enemy, the Republican Party, which was pleading in glittering generalities and promising better behavior if the people would only try them again.

If Democrats only united they could carry consternation, disaster and defeat into the Republican ranks. In condemning the Republican Party for its declaration in regard to gold and silver, Governor Hogg exclaimed, in tones of indignation:—"Are you Americans or are you truckling sycophants, winning smiles from foreign crowns?"

Governor Hogg's "five minutes" were stretched into half an hour, but still there were no tidings from the Committee on Credentials, and amid vociferous cries for Hill, who was not present, the Chair recognized Senator-elect Money, of Mississippi, who moved that Senator Blackburn, of Kentucky, be invited to the stand.

Mr. Blackburn, the first pronounced candidate to be heard, was received with tumultuous applause. He said the Democratic Party had opened the campaign in splendid style. They had swept over the skirmish line, and their further duty was plain.

"Let us declare," he said, "we are to promulgate a platform that shall not obscure or deflect public attention from the one great issue upon which the campaign is to turn; that we mean to

unlock the doors of the mint and put silver back where it was before. Let us declare further that we do not approve the issue of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, or of giving the option of purchase to the man holding the obligation, and that we oppose the retirement of the greenbacks."

Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, was then called for, and, rising in the body of the hall, indicated a desire to give way to Senator Hill, but the Chair stated that Mr. Hill was engaged with the Committee on Resolutions.

The band once more struck up to kill time, and Governor Altgeld was again called in requisition as a stop gap. His swarthy visage as it appeared alongside the chairman was greeted with cheers, to which he responded by saying he did not come here to make a speech, but to assist in nominating a President and preparing a platform which should bring hope to the people.

He was listened to with attention as he proceeded to discuss the cause of the existing conditions of distress, which he summarized as the combined action of the moneyed interests of the world to make money dear and property and labor cheap.

Governor Altgeld moved at twenty-three minutes of two o'clock that the Convention take a recess till five o'clock. The proposition was met with loud shouts of disapproval. Thereupon Sen-

ator White stated it had become manifest that there would be no report from the Committee on Credentials for some time, and the motion just made was the result of that fact.

The Convention re-assembled at a quarter after five o'clock, with a full attendance of delegates and with crowded galleries. Senator Daniel was in the chair as temporary chairman. The section assigned to the New York delegation was an exception to the general rule, very few members of the delegation being present. Senator Hill, ex-Governor Flower and Mr. Whitney were conspicuously absent.

Senator Hill, followed by many members of the New York delegation, came into the hall at twenty minutes to six o'clock, and was immediately recognized and greeted with cheers and shouts of "Hill! Hill!" No notice of this demonstration was taken by him.

The chief feature of the proceedings was the test vote on the adoption of a report from the Committee on Credentials to seat the silver delegates from Michigan instead of the gold delegates, who claimed they had been regularly elected. A minority report was presented, and the roll was called amid great confusion.

When New York's seventy-two votes were announced as in favor of the minority report a tumultuous wave of cheering broke over the assem-

bly. The first efforts of the chairman to repress the manifestation by the use of his gavel were met by a counter demonstration on the part of the gold delegates, who, rising and turning their backs to the chairman and their faces to the immense crowds in the galleries, waved hats and handkerchiefs, and stood on their chairs and gesticulated.

The galleries, evidently strongly anti-silver in sentiment, were not slow to respond, and unearthly sounds from fifteen thousand throats filled even the vast space of the great hall. The Tammany yell was plainly heard in every temporary lull. The band tried in vain to compete with the babel of noise. Every rap of the Chairman's gavel only seemed to start it again as it began to quiet down. Shouts for Hill, loud calls and shrill whistles added to the confusion. Then the silver men began to hiss and stamp their feet, and this made matters infinitely worse.

Senator Daniel's powerful voice, much worn with its service yesterday, called the next State, "North Carolina." "North Carolina declines to vote till she can be heard," replied the chairman of the delegation.

State Chairman Hinkley, Hugh J. Grant and other prominent New Yorkers vainly tried to stop the demonstration. It went on uninterrupted for fifteen minutes, and was barely silenced when the roll call was resumed. When Pennsylvania was

reached, and Chairman Harrity, mounted on a chair, said :—"Pennsylvania casts her sixty-four votes aye," an attempt was made to renew the demonstration, but it died away in a few seconds, spectators and delegates being almost tired out.

The vote resulted in the rejection of the minority report by yeas, 368 ; nays, 558 ; absent, 4.

"The noes have it," said the chairman, "and the amendment is lost." It was now the silver men's turn, and they yelled and waved hats and handkerchiefs and displayed Bland pictures, and made the night hideous for nearly as long as the gold men, the galleries impartially assisting.

The report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was then presented by Mr. Finley, of Ohio, naming Senator White, of California, as permanent president of the Convention, and Thomas J. Cogan, of Ohio, as permanent secretary. The Convention then adjourned until Thursday at ten o'clock.

### Third Day of the Convention.

The day began with thousands clamoring for entrance to the Coliseum, where it was felt that political history was to be made. It was known that the Populist free-silver majority in the Convention would adopt the revolutionary platform which had been agreed upon by the majority of the Committee on Resolutions. The only ques-

tion was how the protest of sound-money Democrats would be received.

Senator Jones, of Arkansas, chairman of the



CLAUDE MATTHEWS.

Committee on Resolutions, let the platform as reported by the majority speak for itself. Most of the time was taken up by Senator Tillman, of South Carolina. He offered an amendment in denunciation of President Cleveland, and made it the basis for one of his familiar harangues. Populistic

and undemocratic as were a majority of the delegates, they seemed to have little sympathy with Tillman.

The case for the minority was presented by Senator Hill with conspicuous ability and adroitness. He spoke for Democracy unsectional and uncontaminated by Populism. His analysis of the platform was keen and his arraignment of its abandonment of Democratic principles was pointed. In spite of the unpopularity of the cause he was



advocating with a majority of the delegates, Senator Hill's speech made a marked impression.

The sensational incident of the day was the stampede caused by Bryan, of Nebraska. In supporting the majority report, he interpreted accurately the spirit which dominated the delegates from the South and West. They saw their confused ideas set forth by a skillful orator, and they made Bryan the hero of the hour. The demonstration which followed Bryan's speech was an extraordinary one. It made him at one bound a leading candidate for the nomination.

The platform as reported by the majority was adopted by a vote which showed that the free-silver extremists had a two-thirds majority.

Previous to this, an amendment to the financial plank was offered, which declared for the gold standard. It was rejected by a vote of 626 to 303. An amendment to indorse the administration was also rejected by a vote of 564 to 357. The majority report was then adopted by a vote of 628 to 301.

Here is the full text of the Democratic National Platform, as finally agreed upon by the Committee on Resolutions and adopted by the Convention :—

We, the Democrats of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are

founded, and which the Democratic Party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic Party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this Republic of Republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the General Government to the exercise of powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

### Civil and Religious Liberty.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic Party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

### Act of 1873 Denounced.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by

Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the money unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

We declare that the Act of 1873, demonetizing silver, without the knowledge or approval of the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people, a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad, the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

### Monometallism Un-American.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal money by private contract.

### **Bond Issues Condemned.**

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in times of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

### **National Bank Notes Denounced.**

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals.

We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin.

### **McKinley Law Denounced.**

We hold that tariff duties shall be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that

taxation should be limited by the needs of the government honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

### Supreme Court Attacked.

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that Court for nearly one hundred years, that Court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court, as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the government.

### Prevent Pauper Immigration.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactures, and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

### Arbitration.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in inter-state commerce and their employés, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

### Transportation Questions.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of these arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Inter-state Commerce Commission, and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican



Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production.

We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befit a Democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

### Contempt of Court Bill Indorsed.

We denounce arbitrary interference by federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners, and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

### Pacific Railroad Funding Bill.

No discrimination should be indulged by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding Bill and denounce the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

### Pensions.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily indorse the rule of the pre-

sent Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

### **Favor Admission of New States.**

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Oklahoma and Arizona into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which the duties are to be performed. The Democratic Party believes in Home Rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a Delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

### **Monroe Doctrine to be Upheld.**

The Monroe Doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

### Civil Service Laws.

We are opposed to life-tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the Civil Service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

### No Third Term.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

### For Internal Improvements.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declarations of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

### The Fourth Day's Session.

The people began gathering in the great Coliseum in anticipation of a renewal of the exciting incidents of the day before, but the legions who were to do the fighting came slowly.

It was after midnight when the fighting ceased, and many of the leaders had been in counsel all night. There were clans to be marshalled, broken lines to be reformed, strategy to be devised, booms to be fostered and booms to be checked. The leaders hardly got a wink of sleep, while the rank and file of the delegates slept like weary battle-battered soldiers on their arms.

They came back to the field, hardly refreshed, but still full of fight and resolution. The gold men took their places, such of them as came, sullenly and bitterly. The extent of the revolt in the East against the platform adopted, and the refusal of the Eastern gold delegations and that of Wisconsin, headed by that scarred political veteran, General Bragg, "who loved Cleveland for the enemies he had made," came home with a realizing sense to the silver leaders, and they planned with skill to prevent their followers from being carried away by their emotions.

The action of the gold men made it vital that the man to carry the banner of the new creed should be able to rally to his back all the silver elements.

The leaders came in quietly. Mr. Whitney walked in with a group of the New York delegation, but it was announced that Senator Hill, like Achilles, sulked in his tent. New England delegations, generally, were thin. The battle had gone against them, and they appeared only to hesitate as to whether they should remain, silent and mute, when they were asked to participate in the nomination of a candidate on a platform to which they could not be reconciled, or to physically withdraw from the convention.

At 10.57, Chairman White, of California, who had recovered the use of his voice, stepped to the front of the stage. Running his eye for a couple of seconds over the acres of people, he glanced down to the battered delegations, and with every whack of the gavel called the convention to order. With shuffling feet the vast audience arose and listened to the Rev. Dr. Green, the chaplain, petition the Throne for righteousness and peace.

When the roll of delegates was called old convention pressmen marvelled to hear Allan W. Thurman, a son of the "Old Roman," cast his vote for McLean, who, during the life of his father, had been one of his bitter opponents. The call showed 40 of Ohio's vote for McLean, 2 for Bland, 1 for Bryan and 2 for Pattison. There was one absentee. Under the unit rule the 46 votes of

the State were counted for McLean. Oregon cast her 8 votes for Pennoyer.

Pennsylvania cast her 64 votes for Pattison amid the cheers of the galleries; South Carolina 17 of her votes for Tillman, while the crowds hissed. A big row occurred when Wisconsin was called. General Bragg announced he was instructed by the majority of the Wisconsin delegation to cast no vote.

One of the silver delegates challenged this, and insisted on a call of the roll of the State. The result was that 19 delegates refused to vote; 1 voted for Blackburn and 4 for Bland. Senator-elect Money, of Mississippi, made the point of order that instructions to a delegation to vote as a unit could not stifle the will of any who desired to vote. General Bragg climbed on one of the chairs of the Ohio delegation to protest, but the mad-dened Buckeyes ordered him down. New York and Vermont offered him a chair in their delegations.

General Bragg made his statement as to the return of the Wisconsin delegation, and was replied to from the platform by Delegate Dockrey, one of the silver Hotspurs from Wisconsin. He aroused great enthusiasm by declaring that if Wisconsin's will was stifled here, it would be heard for silver in November.

The silver-tongued Tammany orator, ex-Senator



Grady, made a fiery protest against a ruling, which, he contended, would practically abrogate the unit rule. The delegates grew still as Senator White, the chairman, finally ruled that unit rule instructions did not contemplate the refusal of delegations to vote. He ruled that all such voters would be considered absentees, but that every delegate present who desired to vote had the right to have his vote registered. This ruling was loudly cheered, as it blazed the way for an ultimate ruling that the two-thirds required to nominate within the meaning of the rule were two-thirds of the votes cast, according to precedent.

When the second roll was begun, it furnished a satisfaction at the outset, for Alabama shifted her twenty-two votes from the Bland camp to Bryan, and the young Nebraskan's friends waved their handkerchiefs.

Bryan gained three in the California delegation on a poll. Close Colorado's for Teller were again hissed and cheered. Vice-President Stevenson captured one of Bland's votes in Florida. Three Maine men, who declined to vote, asked a call of the State roll, but the chair refused. One Massachusetts man, who refrained from voting on the first call, came in for Matthews. Under the unit rule Michigan's twenty-eight went for Bryan. Bland gained two in Montana and McLean three in Nevada. Two New Jersey men, who had ab-

stained on the first ballot, came to Pattison. Silence followed the call of New York.

South Carolina gave up her Senator and brought her votes into Bryan's column amid much enthusiasm, Tillman speaking of Bryan as the emancipator of the white slave. Virginia abandoned Blackburn to turn her twenty-four votes to Bland. Wyoming changed her six votes from Blackburn to Bryan. John McLean lost four in the District of Columbia, and Bryan captured three of them.

The name of Minnesota on the second call brought a shout from Daniel Lawler: "Minnesota on this and every other ballot, present and not voting."

The turning of the tide toward Bryan, of Nebraska, was alarming the managers of wheel horses so that these gentlemen skirmished about earnestly among their followers and invaded alien camps while the band discoursed a solemn air to give the clerk another opportunity to practice addition.

In the meantime many voices from the galleries called, "Hurrah for Bryan!" and one shouter called, "What is the matter with Bryan?" being answered by many voices, "He's all right!"

Then the chairman of the California delegation called that under instructions he desired to announce a change in the vote of California. Fourteen of the votes were for Bryan, a change of ten,

the losers being Blackburn and Matthews, and thereupon the calls of Bryan were renewed.

It will be seen from the following table that Bryan was nominated on the 5th ballot :

	1	2	3	4	5
Bryan, . . .	119	190	219	280	500
Bland, . . .	235	283	291	241	106
Pattison, . .	95	100	97	97	95
Matthews, . .	37	33	34	36	31
Boies, . . .	85	41	36	33	26
Stevenson, . .	7	10	7	8	8
Hill, . . .	1	1	122	1	1
Turpie, . . .	x	x	x	x	1
McLean, . . .	54	53	54	46	x
Blackburn, . .	83	41	27	27	x
Pennoyer, . .	8	8	x	x	x
Teller, . . .	8	8	x	x	x
Russell, . . .	2	x	x	x	x
Campbell, . .	1	x	x	x	x
Tillman, . . .	17	x	x	x	x

In the fifth official ballot, as announced, Bryan received 500 votes. Changes were made thereafter giving him more than the necessary 512 votes.

On the fifth and last day of the Convention, Hon. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President.

When Mr. Sewall, the millionaire shipbuilder, was nominated, there was another uproar around the great Convention hall. That was the only impressive demonstration of the day, save when

Gov. Flower announced that New York refused to vote.

In spite of the fact that the Convention had repudiated President Cleveland, his portrait was allowed to hang beside the other great leaders of the Democracy. More than two hundred delegates bore witness for the President by declining to take part in the proceedings. And the Convention ended as it began, with the strains of "Dixie."

Not more than a third of the hall was occupied. The delirium was over, and to some extent the enthusiasm also. Pretty women sat among the delegates. There was plenty of room for them on the main floor, for sound-money men had scattered. Spears of sunlight touched the audience here and there. Great stretches of unpainted chairs indicated a listlessness of the public.

The Convention then adjourned, and soon the hall was empty.

## National Convention of the Prohibition Party.

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THE seventh National Convention of the Prohibition Party was called to order in Pittsburgh, May 27, 1896, in the Exposition Hall. There was quite a large attendance, abundantly significant of the growth of the party since its inception in 1869, when it cast barely seven thousand votes, down to the last Presidential campaign, when the total vote cast was nearly 280,000.

H. L. Castle, chairman of the Committee on Reception, delivered an address of welcome. Samuel Dickie, of Michigan, chairman of the National Committee, the gentleman who, with the utmost suavity and courtesy, let down a little avalanche of proxies upon his "broad gauge" or free silver opponents, thereby securing the temporary organization of the Convention, responded to the address of welcome.

At the opening of the formal proceedings, when Mr. Dickie presented the name of A. A. Stevens, of Tyrone, Pa., as temporary chairman, the rebellion of the free silver minority broke out.

Chauncey W. Dunn, of California, nominated

Edward J. Wheeler as the temporary chairman in place of Stevens. Mr. Dickie ruled the motion out of order, and ordered Mr. Dunn to take his seat. Mr. Dunn refused to do so for some time, and a scene of uproar ensued.

Mr. Dunn appealed from the decision of the Chair, and Mr. Dickie refused to entertain the appeal.

Mr. Dickie repeated his ruling that the nomination of Mr. Wheeler was out of order, and again refused to entertain an appeal from this decision, whereupon Mr. Dunn declared that all parliamentary precedent had been violated, and former Governor St. John, of Kansas, took up the discussion with no better result. He was followed by Mr. Woodbey, a colored delegate from Nebraska, and confusion continued.

Chairman Stevens ordered the colored man to be seated.

"I shall not sit down," shouted Woodbey.

"Then," said Mr. Stevens, "I shall order you to be removed from the Convention."

Mr. Woodbey continued his rebellion by standing on his chair and shouting at the top of his voice, and Mr. McWhirter, of Indiana, came to the rescue of the Chair by asserting that Mr. Woodbey was not even entitled to the floor as a delegate.

Then the band was called upon to drown the



uproar and to give the chairman time to recover his composure, considerably disturbed. Meanwhile, half the Convention was walking the floor, and a squad of policemen were ushered into the hall to keep order.

Mr. Wheeler, of New York, the gentleman named in the minority report as temporary chairman, rose, and, for the sake of harmony, withdrew his name, although protesting against what he called an arbitrary and unjust rule.

Then, at last, Temporary Chairman Stevens was permitted to deliver his opening address, at the close of which a recess was taken.

A caucus of three hundred "narrow gauge" delegates, who favored confining the action of the Convention to taking a stand upon prohibition alone, was held during the recess. The caucus adopted a resolution, declining to support any issue which could not command a three-fourths vote of the Convention. The New York State delegates in caucus decided by a vote of 79 against 15 to stand for "narrow gauge," which meant "prohibition" simply.

At a caucus of the "broad gaugers" a call of the roll of delegates present showed their strength to be but 355 votes, about one-third of the total vote of the Convention. The "broad gauge" leaders heretofore claimed that they would count upward of 700 votes.

### Broad Gaugers Win.

When the Convention re-assembled in the afternoon the Committee on Credentials reported 810 delegates present. A resolution pledging the Convention not to abate its relentless war on the licensed rum power was ordered telegraphed to various religious bodies then in conference; also to Congress, and to Miss Frances Willard and Lady Somerset, in England.

Mrs. Helen Gougar, chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the name of Oliver W. Stewart, of Illinois, one of the broad gaugers, as permanent chairman.

Mr. Ferguson, of New York, presented a minority report on behalf of the narrow gauge men, recommending the continuance of Mr. A. A. Stevens in the chair as the permanent chairman. A tangle over a point of order threw the Convention into a scene of confusion, which lasted for more than half an hour.

Much ill feeling developed, and Chairman Stevens himself was for a long time refused a hearing, but when at last he gained the attention of the disturbing elements, he said that though he believed he had been put forward as a representative of the element in the Convention which believed in prohibition and non-divisive issues, and though he believed, on a call of the States, he would be sus-

tained, he desired to withdraw his name. This announcement was received with cheers, and the majority report of the committee was then adopted, and Mr. Stewart was escorted to the chair.

A motion made by Mrs. Gougar to hold a mass meeting at night, in lieu of a business session, was carried, after considerable opposition, and the Convention adjourned until next morning at nine o'clock.

The second was the most exciting day of the Prohibitionists' Convention, and a split in the party resulted. The test of strength on the first day made the "broad gauge," or free silver men, believe they had a good working majority. On the adoption of a free silver plank, however, they were defeated by a vote of 427 to 388.

This victorious showing meant the nomination of Joshua Levering, a millionaire tea importer, of Baltimore, for President. When the Convention nominated him the Western delegates bolted. They went to another hall, where they held a convention of their own. This did not scare the "narrow gaugers," who remained in their seats and proceeded with the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. The Convention hall was the scene of bitter strife from the time the Committee on Resolutions reported until the silver men and women bolted. After the platform had been read ex-Governor St. John, of Kansas, offered a minor-

ity report. It declared for free silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.

When a motion was made to add it to the majority report there was a rumble that shook the rafters of the Exposition Building. It was the most excited gathering ever held in Pittsburg, and the police were powerless to preserve order. Men and women stood on chairs and hurled vindictive comments at the head of the chairman, who was pounding vigorously for order. Finally one delegate was recognized and moved to table the report. Then the silverites broke out, and their voices drowned the yells of the Eastern men. When the chairman declared the motion to table had carried, the excitement became worse. Delegates rushed frantically from one end of the hall to the other, and there was much confusion. A division was demanded, and the roll was called. It was then found that the "narrowes" had thirty-nine majority, and the Convention was on record against silver. The Western men did not give up, and carried the fight into the last ditch.

They went back to the hall in the evening and started in to defeat the nomination of Levering. In this they were unsuccessful. When they saw the Convention would have nothing to do with free silver they rallied and left the hall in disgust.

This is the platform adopted :—

“ The Prohibition party in National Convention

assembled declares its firm convictions that the manufacture, exportation, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages, has produced such social, commercial, industrial, political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a national party, organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country; is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political action of all our patriotic citizens, until such suppression is accomplished. The urgency of this cause demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Therefore be it

*“Resolved*, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, interstate transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages.

“That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into our party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it but right to leave every prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.”

The Convention closed in such an outburst of

enthusiasm as has never been seen in a Prohibition Party Convention. Nearly a thousand delegates threw up their hats and yelled themselves hoarse over the platform, and the candidates of the convention, Hon. Joshua Levering, of Maryland, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois. The platform was of such breadth that there was abundant room for every enemy of the saloon to stand upon it, but for nobody else. There was room enough for the delegates to jump up and down, and they did it. Sore-throat medicine was in great demand, and jubilant delegates who were not obliged to leave on night trains were holding love-feasts in the corridors of the various hotels.

It was after 10 o'clock at night when the famous resident of Baltimore was declared the unanimous choice of the Convention for President of the United States. A scene of the wildest enthusiasm prevailed: hats went up in the air, handkerchiefs waved, and the great shout amounted to an uproar. One excited delegate seized a big silk flag and made his way to the Maryland delegation. Responding to the general clamor, Chairman Dickie and Samuel D. Hastings made their way through the dense throng and escorted Mr. Levering to the platform.

When Permanent Chairman Stewart formally introduced the candidate to the Convention, he was given such an ovation that it was several



minutes before any one could be heard. When order was restored, Mr. Levering said in substance:

“I would be less than human if my heart did not beat quick, and every nerve pulsate with deep emotion as I stand before you as the candidate against the legalized liquor traffic of this country, When an honor comes as a sacrifice for humanity such as this is, it is an honor worth wearing. I feel my own unfitness for it, and would shrink from its acceptance but for one reason, and that is that the secular press have come to realize that we are in earnest in our purpose, and do us justice in saying that we are honest. Therefore I feel that I would waive my private interest and yield to your wishes. I am tempted to cry out, as did the servant of the Almighty, when he was called to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt—‘Who am I that I should be called to lead the children out of the wilderness?’

“Friends, trusting in the God of battles, and trusting in you and those you represent, I am prepared to stand here and accept this sacred trust, and to the extent of my ability I assure you that wherever the fight is the thickest, the white flag of Prohibition will be planted. We may not succeed in planting our flag in the White House, but I think we will come near it; but if we do the government shall not be run in the interest of any trust or individual. I want to remind you that

this great responsibility is yours, and the success of the campaign is not on the standard-bearers so much as on the rank and file. Let us have the faith to believe that right is might. God and humanity expect every Prohibitionist to do his duty."

Another ovation scarcely less enthusiastic than the other greeted Mr. Levering at the close of his address.

The selection of Hale Johnson, Illinois's brilliant son, required but a little time. E. W. Chafin, of Wisconsin, presented the name of Captain J. M. Cleghorn, of his State; but the captain at once withdrew his name, as he had the mishap to be born in Canada.

The name of John Hipp, the gallant Prohibition leader of Colorado, was proposed amid great enthusiasm; but Hipp counseled that this action be not taken under the circumstances.

Gov. T. C. Hughes, of Arizona, was presented, but it was not certain that he would accept a second place, which prevented him being strongly supported.

Massachusetts presented the name of Edward Kendall, of Cambridge, and A. A. Stevens nominated Homer L. Castle, in behalf of Pennsylvania; but Castle proposed in his stead R. H. Patton, of Illinois.

Chairman Dickie, in a neat speech, nominated

Hon. Hale Johnson, of Illinois, who had become a general favorite on account of his great harmony speech in the debate on the money plank. Johnson made an attempt to withdraw, but it didn't go. The ballot resulted in his selection by a vote of 309 to 132 in favor of Hughes, and a motion to make it unanimous went through with a rush and a shout.

The ovation extended to Johnson was scarcely equaled by that extended to Mr. Levering. The crowd were hoarser and couldn't yell as loud if they tried. Mr. Johnson was promptly escorted to the platform and made one of his characteristic vigorous speeches. He counseled the delegates to keep up their courage and keep up the good work.

### **Biographical Sketch of Hon. Joshua Levering.**

Joshua Levering was born in the same place where he now lives—Baltimore, Md. This event occurred September 12, 1845. In 1866 he became a partner with his father, Eugene Levering, in the coffee importing business, the firm name being E. Levering & Co., the same as it is now. The business is now conducted by the sons of Eugene Levering, Sr, who died in 1870. In 1892 Joshua married Martha W., daughter of Charles M. Keyser, and a sister of his first wife, who died in 1888. Three sons and four daughters have resulted from this union.

In 1871 Mr. Levering became a constituent

member of Eutaw Place Baptist Church, and since 1881 he has been superintendent of its Sunday-school. In 1888 he helped organize the American Baptist Education Society, and has been its treasurer ever since. For a number of years he has also been vice-president of the American Baptist Publication Society. Once he was vice-president of the Southern Baptist convention.

At present he is acting chairman of the board of trustees of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky. Since 1887 he has been president of the Maryland House of Refuge and is a director of the Provident Savings Bank of Baltimore. In 1885 he was elected president of the Young Men's Christian Association and has been re-elected every year since without a dissenting vote.

He is also a member of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and of Canada. In 1887, and also in 1893, he was chairman of the State Prohibition Convention. In 1888 and 1892 he was a delegate to the National Prohibition Convention, and on each occasion declined to permit the use of his name for the Vice-Presidency. On the latter occasion friends insisted, and he received a majority of the votes, but before the vote was announced enough votes were changed to change the result to Dr. J. B. Cranfill. In 1891 Mr. Levering was nominated for State Controller,

and at the last election he ran for Governor, polling a heavy vote.

### Biographical Sketch of Hon. Hale Johnson.

It is a singular fact that both Joshua Levering and Hale Johnson joined the Prohibition Party in 1884, casting their first Prohibition votes for, and doing their first political work for John P. St. John, who was then a candidate for President. Mr. Johnson, the Prohibition candidate for Vice-President, was born in Montgomery County, Ind., Aug. 21, 1847, and lived there until the breaking out of the war when he shouldered his musket and went to the front, serving in the 135th Indiana Volunteers. In 1865 he removed to Illinois, where he took a prominent part in Republican politics. In 1884 he was a delegate to the Republican convention in Chicago, but left the party because the organization refused to put a Prohibition plank in their platform. The same year he went to Pittsburg and helped nominate St. John for President.

He is a member of the Christian church, a past commander in the G. A. R., and a colonel in the Veterans' Commandery. He is a member of no secret societies save the Modern Woodmen. At Newton, Ill., where he lives and enjoys a lucrative law practice, he is honored and loved. When he left the Republican Party his old political friends tried to persuade him to remain, offering to send

him to the legislature, but all to no purpose. Prohibition was the dominant issue with him, so he joined the only party that put this principle before all others.

### What Some Leaders Said.

John G. Woolley made no attempt to conceal his pleasure over the work of the convention, and thought that nothing less than the hand of God was to be seen through it all. "We can now," he said, "go to the Christian voters of the country and ask them to come into this party, and if they don't do it we can put them in a box and nail down the slats."

James A. Tate, the Tennessee leader, and editor of *The Pilot*, at Nashville, said he could go home to his work with more heart and assurance than ever before in the history of the party. It has been up-hill work, he said, trying to do much in the South with the party's previous conglomerate platform.

George C. Christian, of Arkansas, said he thought the single-issue platform would not materially affect the vote in his State. "Our folks are all Prohibitionists," was his general remark covering the whole question. If it had any effect it would be to strengthen the vote.

"I don't feel down in the mouth over the outcome," said Volney B. Cushing, when asked concerning the exodus. "I think perhaps the seceders



may gather some strength from the outside. Those who believe free silver to be the most important issue will naturally go to the Populists. If the free-silver men of all the parties get together they will likely leave Prohibition out of their platform. The Prohibition Party will not lose much, as those who believe Prohibition to be the paramount issue will remain with the organization."

C. C. Beveridge and wife, of Nebraska, are prepared to warble Prohibition songs with more zeal than ever. "I hardly know where I am at," said Mr. Beveridge. "My delegation seem to be excited. I know one thing, Prohibition is my leading complaint, and I propose to stick to the party as long as it remains true to that principle."

Professor Scomp, of the Temperance University, Harriman, Tenn., who was for many years connected with Emory College, Georgia, and left that institution on account of his Prohibition work and principles, was seen after the convention. He said that he worked as hard as he could for a harmonious settlement of the controversy in the party, and while many of the "broad-gauge" friends had assured him that in any event they would stand by the party, he was not greatly surprised at the result. In the South and East the party would probably be strengthened; in certain sections of the West the division would be more marked, and would probably be in favor of the so-called "broad-

gaugers," but he thought it quite likely that the new party movement would find itself hampered in its attempt to organize itself.

Oliver W. Stewart, the permanent chairman of the Prohibition National Convention, and president of the Illinois Christian Endeavor Society, in speaking of the convention, said: "I could not and would not join the movement for another political party. I stood for equal suffrage before I became a party Prohibitionist, and I voted for free silver in our State Convention, and in the National Convention that has just closed here, but I will not allow my disappointment over the defeat of suffrage and silver to drive me out of the party. It is no easy thing to perfect the organization of a new party. I am afraid that my friends on the 'broad-gauge' side, by whom I was made permanent chairman, have made a mistake in attempting such a task. I still believe that we could have gained thousands of votes in Illinois, as well as in other States, on a broad platform, but we were defeated, and I propose to abide by the decision of the convention. This we would have asked of the other side, had we won."

The following clear statement of the conception, introduction, and passage of the substitute or single-issue platform, at the Pittsburg Convention, by its author, was written to one of the journals of the Prohibition Party:

"DEAR SIR:—In view of your report of the Convention and editorials just at hand, I deem it due to the cause of truth and justice that I correct some of your statements. You say: 'The fact is, that the single-plank platform presented by Mr. Patton was prepared before the convention and brought to the Convention with the knowledge of prominent leaders in the narrow-gauge ranks, for the purpose of being introduced whenever a good opportunity presented.'

"You have certainly been misinformed in making such statements. The facts concerning the single-issue platform are as follows:

"A few days before the National Convention I told Oliver W. Stewart, a broad-gauger, at my office, that I expected to prepare a single-issue platform and present it in the Convention as a substitute, whether the free-silver plank was inserted or not. I did not have the time to prepare it before I went to the Convention, but prepared it in my room at the hotel the night before its adoption. With the exception of R. W. Dillar, of Springfield, Ill., who roomed with me at the hotel, no one knew of my having prepared the resolution, until after the noon session, when I read it over to Mr. Whipple, of *The Lever*, and Mr. Wheelock, of Chicago. I stated to John G. Woolley about the same time, that I had such a resolution prepared.

"Upon the vote on the financial plank, I voted with the 'broad-gaugers' for its adoption, and endeavored to get the floor for its advocacy. If you will refer to the columns of your paper in the report of our Illinois Convention, you will ascertain the fact that I, then and there, advocated and voted for free silver. I have, however, from the first advocated a single-issue platform, or a 'broad-gauge plat-

form' upon all issues. I regarded this as the only logical position we could assume. I positively deny that my action was induced by the influence of the leaders on either side, or was anticipated or even known by the leaders on either side.

"After the defeat of the financial plank, some one, I think Mr. Beveridge, of Nebraska, came to John G. Woolley and conferred with him, and Mr. Woolley said to me, 'Now is the time to introduce your single-issue platform.' Something was said to the effect that the free-silver men would favor such a platform in preference to a broad-gauge platform with no financial plank. I then introduced my platform and moved to substitute it for all the platform before the convention.

"When I obtained the chair's recognition to speak in behalf of my motion, I went to the platform and was there met by Governor St. John, who said to me: 'Patton, won't you let me have two minutes ahead of you? I have something to suggest which will accomplish the same result I think you are aiming at.' I asked him what it was he wanted to suggest, and he not replying, I did not yield to him.

"After my address Governor St. John was recognized and stated to the Convention that inasmuch as he could not get a declaration on other issues to suit him, he wanted to see the platform as narrow as the narrow-gauge men wanted it, and he then said, 'I will therefore support Mr. Patton's resolution.' Immediately after this speech, you, Mr. Editor, came to the front, and, as I understood you, said you were glad the time had come when the platform should be either the one thing or the other. That you were tired of this fight in the party and would vote for the resolution offered by myself.

“In doing this both you and Governor St. John led me to believe, and no doubt the Convention, that you welcomed this as a compromise, and intended to vote for it in good faith. Why you both stated you would support this resolution, and after it was carried, bolted, I am at a loss to understand. Especially am I amazed to see you and others attempt to justify your bolting upon the ground of the adoption of my substitute after your public espousals of adoption.

“I presented and advocated the adoption of the substitute after careful consideration, believing that the time had come for concentration of all the Prohibition voters of the country into our party, and that we could only do so by leaving every Prohibitionist his convictions upon other issues. For its preparation and presentation, I must shoulder either the honor or the blame, but for its adoption you and Governor St. John and every one else who advocated its adoption or voted for it, must share either the honor or the blame.

“The attempt on your part, or any one else, to attribute the adoption of this platform to any antipathy to Woman Suffrage, must inevitably fail because of a lack of any truth for its foundation.

“As author of the platform I challenge the fullest investigation as to whether I have not always espoused the cause of woman’s enfranchisement. I am of the firm conviction that in the end the cause of woman’s enfranchisement and every other great reform movement must be the easier accomplished by the concentration of the enemies of the saloon into one party. The dram-shop stands in the road of all reform, and its destruction is logically the first work to be accomplished. With you I believe in the

restoration of the free coinage of silver, but, sir, with the liquor traffic in control of American politics, and with the breweries and distilleries owned and controlled by British capitalists, I do not expect to see their financial views defeated, until their power in American politics is destroyed by the destruction of the licensed saloon.

"I believe, with you, in Woman Suffrage, but I know that so long as the saloon continues as the school-house of American voters, our women will not receive justice. The prohibition of the liquor traffic is not only the greatest economic and moral question before the people, but it is the gateway to all other reforms. It was a conviction of this truth that led to the preparation of the substitute platform, and adoption of this new policy by the overwhelming vote of 650 to 150. To misrepresent it and attribute our action to some other cause can do no good to the National Party or humanity. Let the truth be spoken and the right will triumph.

"Yours respectfully,

"ROBERT H. PATTON."

*The New York Voice*, the leading organ of the Prohibition Party, thus defends the Pittsburg Convention and the Platform of the Prohibitionists:

"The founders of the Prohibition Party in 1869, in the reasons set forth for its organization, declared that the party's primary object was to suppress the liquor traffic. With that purpose absent or eclipsed there has never been any real reason for the existence of the party. However much may or may not have been associated in platform utterance with that object in the course of events, does not make at all unwise the position which this year presents



the party's original purpose as the only national bond of union.

"This has been first in the hearts and most abundant in the speech of nine-tenths of our lecturers, as it has occupied the major place in all our propaganda. This persistent singleness of purpose has prevented the Prohibition Party from meeting the fate of early oblivion which has overtaken other minor parties.

"Criticism of the direct simplicity of our platform is probably inspired because of the absence of some of the form rather than the substance around which party activity has centered.

'The necessities of the case make the building of a party more important than the broadening of a platform, the requirements demanding the broadest bond of union, consistent with the party's purpose. Such a bond is found in the specific utterance regarding which the great body of Prohibitionists of every class can agree, and that we have in the declaration adopted at Pittsburg. It in no way abridges the platform, broad, narrow, or medium, already adopted by the individual States, or yet to be adopted, for the reason that it contains no declaration in conflict with any of them, either in whole or in part.

"The testing time has come. Those who care more for some other question than they do about the suppression of the liquor traffic will throw their influence outside of the Prohibition Party.

"All those who profess to hate the liquor traffic; who believe that its legalization is a sin which government ought not to commit; who feel that politics can receive no permanent moral uplift, and law-making enjoy free progressive tendencies until the liquor power is made to let go

its grip on politics and government, will find it especially encumbent upon them this year to get into the Prohibition Party.

"Excuses of the old stock order are hardly pertinent this time. Those who have been in the habit of saying that they were Prohibitionists, but objected to endorsing a vast collection of issues and disputed theories by voting the ticket of the Prohibition Party, can not now honestly present that plea.

"They can vote for Prohibition on its merits, unmixed with matters about which they may be in doubt, or in which they do not believe. Men of different creeds, of opposing economic theories, and men of no creed at all, can this year stand for the overshadowing issue upon which they agree in common, with nothing to disturb them or make them afraid.

"The three million nominal Prohibitionists in the country can say in one voice at the ballot-box this year, that the saloon must go, and it will require neither dictionary to define nor interpreter to explain what this voice does or does not mean. It will be a clear, unmixed and uncompromising shout for the prohibition of the liquor traffic. This is the accepted time in which the Prohibitionists of the country can and should get together at the ballot-box."

# CELEBRATED POLITICAL LEADERS.

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## THOMAS B. REED

THE history of our country shows that in every great crisis and emergency men have come forward who were equal to the occasion. An extraordinary demand has always developed extraordinary characters and has been fruitful in remarkable achievements. From the period of the Revolution down to the present time, statesmen who would compare favorably with those of any other nation, have appeared upon the scene of action. Those who established our national policy and guided the young republic through its early career were not more conspicuous than those who, in later times, have shaped the events whose record is written upon the enduring pages of history. It is but just to say that our nation has been gifted with wise and able statesmen, nor do we need to go far back to discover their names.

Stormy times always bring grand men to the front, the occasion affording opportunity for leaders of intellectual force, heroic courage and glowing patriotism. It has been no light task to guide

American affairs during the period immediately following our great Civil War. The conflict of opinions has raged under the dome of the Capitol. This was only to be expected, for a nation like ours, covering so vast an extent of territory, the life of which is composed of interests so varied, and where there is always a strong local feeling, must find that there will be differences of opinion respecting many questions of national policy.

Few men have lately occupied more public attention than Thomas Brackett Reed, a man constructed on a broad plan, with abundance of material put into his original composition, and physically and intellectually the peer of the most conspicuous Americans who have gone before him. As a party leader, he has shown pre-eminent abilities, while at the same time he possesses the elements of personal popularity to a remarkable degree. He appears to have gained his full growth, is not confined within narrow limits, and is so ample in thought, energy and deed, that he must be considered a grand outgrowth of American institutions.

Mr. Reed was born in Maine, October 18th, 1839. After the usual common-school education, which the most of American boys are fortunate in being able to obtain, he continued his studies and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1860. The choice of his profession was that of law, and he imme-

diately began its study after leaving College. For a short time he was diverted from the practice of his profession, becoming acting paymaster in the Navy in 1864. Here, however, he remained only a year, and then resumed his profession.

His comprehensive knowledge of current politics and his sound Republican principles made him widely known in his own locality, and he was honored with an election to the lower branch of the Maine Legislature in 1868. At the next election he was made Senator and was transferred to the upper house. For two years he was attorney-general of the State, and city solicitor for Portland for a term of four years. During all this time his reputation was extending, his marked qualities were showing themselves, his strong individuality was attracting observation, and it became evident that he had abundant qualifications for a sphere of the widest political action.

The next step in his career was his election to Congress, in 1876. He has since been continuously re-elected, a fact in itself affording sufficient evidence of his great popularity and the unbounded confidence reposed in him by his constituents. It was soon admitted in Washington that a man of extraordinary parts had taken his seat in the House of Representatives. He did not commit the error of expressing his views on every little subject, on every little occasion, but when the

turning-points came and matters of weighty import were to be decided, Mr. Reed stood in the centre of the arena, a valiant champion of his party faith, and an opponent with whom few dared to measure arms.

Mr. Reed showed an intricate knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, having made the conduct of public business a special study. He was quick to detect any blunder or mistake in the deliberations and modes of procedure on the floor of the House. Naturally he became the leader of his party, having a clear and comprehensive conception of its principles, and being able to express his views with such force and eloquence as to command attention. He assumed his position at the front without effort, without courting favor, purely upon his own merits as a statesman of broad views, generous impulses, magnetic force and calm judgment.

He became the central figure of the Republican party, and in the Fifty-first Congress was elected Speaker of the House. It soon became evident that a man of stern will and remarkable executive ability was in the chair. Business was to go on. The country expected legislation and was to have it. The subterfuges and delays for defeating measures of public importance were to be branded as infamous. The old-time usages and rules which blocked legislative machinery were to be dragged



forth and slain, as Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

Of course, there was a stir among the dry bones. It had never been so seen in Washington before. A new man was at the helm, a new life and vigor were infused into the deliberations and actions of the House of Representatives. Men who had resorted to the most unscrupulous methods for defeating projects which they did not favor, were respectfully but firmly told to take a back seat. Rules were adopted for "counting a quorum," and permitting public business to be transacted, a very wise and indispensable proceeding, as would be said by any man of common sense. It was justly concluded that where something was expected to be done, it was the height of idiocy and obstinacy to allow a small minority to paralyze all action, resulting in the doing of nothing.

As might have been expected, a storm of criticism was awakened. In the midst of it all Mr. Reed stood like a rock, conscious that he was right and that the position he had taken was a public necessity. Americans do not like a weak man. They had found a strong one, and the entire approbation of his party sustained Mr. Reed and applauded his administration. He was unmoved by assaults, bitter criticisms, storms of vituperation. His enemies gave him the title of "Czar," berated what they called his tyranny, yet inwardly

respected him and bowed before the majesty of his will.

Time has justified fully the position Mr. Reed assumed, and the very rules which the minority opposed they were compelled to adopt when they became the majority. Mr. Reed's views upon great public questions are so well known as to require little reference here. Suffice it to say, he is a thorough American, believes in a strong foreign policy, is an advocate of reasonable protection to American industries, and stands with his windows open to the light, ready for any and all measures that will promote the widest public welfare.

In personal characteristics and force of character Mr. Reed is a typical American and seems abundantly able to bear the responsibilities which have fallen to his lot as a public man.

### DAVID B. HILL.

**A**MONG the distinguished leaders of the Democratic party no one is more prominent than Senator Hill. A man of intellectual force, energetic and aggressive nature, sound judgment on party issues, magnetic and eloquent as a speaker, having the ability to command and control men, experienced in public affairs, and having risen from comparatively humble life, he combines in a singular degree nearly all the elements which render

a statesman popular and draw to him the confidence of the people.

Mr. Hill was born in Havana, Chemung Co., N. Y., August 29th, 1843. His mind in early life inclined to the study of law, and we therefore find that his first employment was in a lawyer's office in his native village. He had obtained a good common-school education, and shown himself to be a thorough scholar, diligent at his books, and somewhat shy of social life, fearing that it might interfere with his life purposes and pursuits. He was such a lad as the neighbors predicted would have a useful and honorable career. The old saying, "the boy is the father of the man" was true in his case, and he gave promise at this early period of one day holding a high position in his profession as well as in public life. He afterward studied law in Elmira, and was admitted to the bar in 1864.

In course of time, he received the appointment of city attorney, and in this office drew wide attention for the aggressive, skillful and able manner in which he conducted his cases. During this time his attention was turned to politics, for which he seemed to have a natural taste and adaptation. He was located in a community with excellent schools and where the people generally took a deep interest not only in their own local affairs, but in the larger questions which affected the nation. He was many times a delegate to the

Democratic State Conventions, and was made the permanent chairman of those held in 1877 and 1881.

He was also prominent in the Democratic National Conventions of 1876 and 1884, where he began to command attention as a leader, shaping to some extent the policy of his party. He was elected a member of the New York Legislature of 1870 and 1871, rendering valuable service upon committees and being recognized as one of the foremost leaders of that body. In 1882 he was elected Mayor of Elmira, a tribute to the confidence placed in him by his fellow-townsmen. During this year Grover Cleveland received the nomination for Governor of the State of New York, and Mr. Hill was nominated with him for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. The campaign of this year and the great success of the Democratic party are matters of history. Mr. Hill threw himself heartily into the campaign, took the stump and by his speeches contributed largely to the result.

When Mr. Cleveland resigned in 1884, having been elected President of the United States, Mr. Hill succeeded him as Governor of New York. In 1885 he was made the candidate for Governor and was elected for the full term of three years. His course during this time commended itself to his party, and he became his own successor in 1888,

being re-elected over Warner Miller, who was made the nominee for Governor by the Republican party. The position and influence he had already gained pointed him out as a suitable candidate for the position of United States Senator, to which position he was chosen by the Legislature of New York, to succeed that distinguished and able lawyer and statesman, Wm. M. Evarts, of whom it was said when he was made United States Senator, "What more natural disposition could be made of Mr. Evarts than simply to transfer him from the head of the New York State Bar to the head of the United States Senate?"

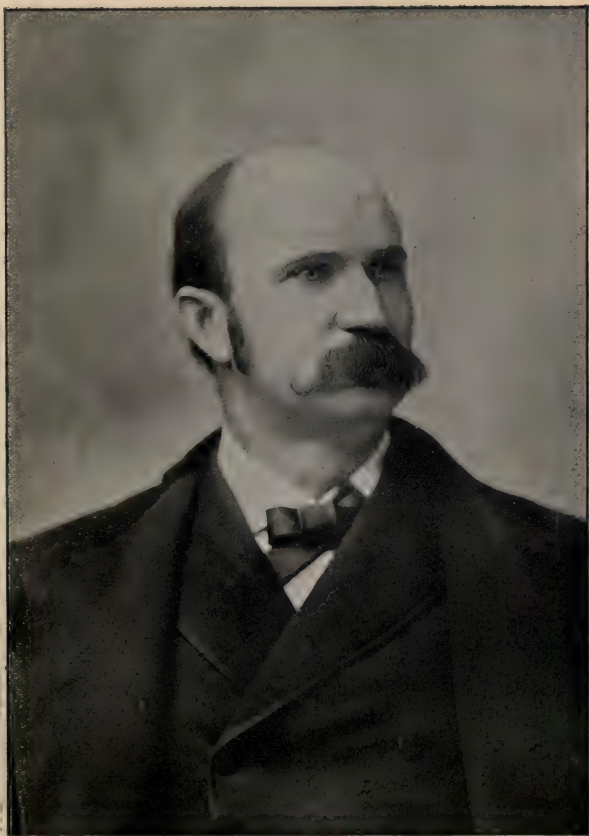
By this time Mr. Hill, being a man of resolute convictions, heroic purposes, able to think for himself, and to defend in a masterly way his own thinking, had antagonized certain elements of his party, who criticised his alliance with Tammany of New York City and endeavored to bring him into disrepute. There was, however, a larger number who applauded his course of action and showed themselves to be his faithful friends and supporters. He opposed the nomination of Grover Cleveland for a second presidential term in 1892. At this time there were many who would have preferred that Mr. Hill should receive the nomination, and there was good reason for believing that the "presidential bee" was buzzing around his ears. He made a trip through the Southern

States, delivering speeches at many points, but failed to command the support of his party for the presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket.

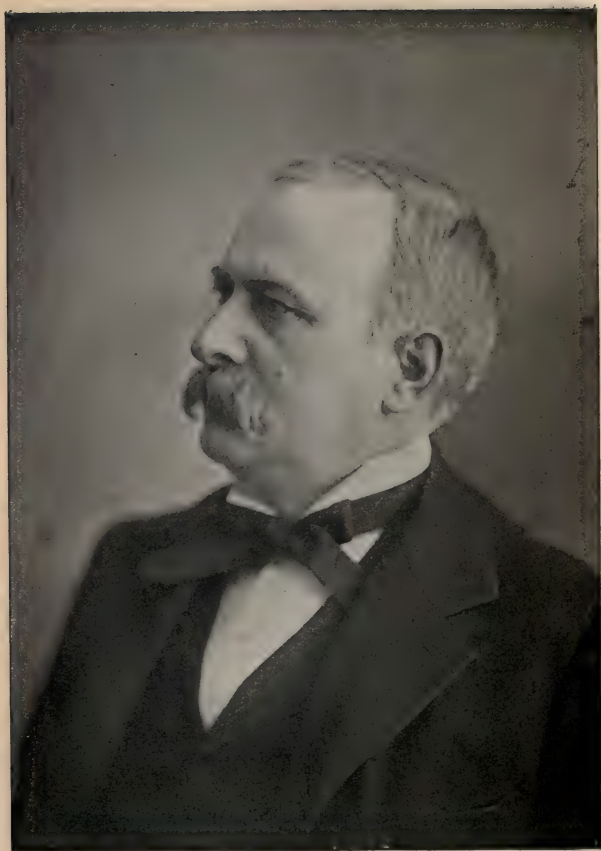
Once in the Senate, he became the leader of a faction opposed to Mr. Cleveland. His utterances in the Senate Chamber were bold, spirited and sometimes bitter. His views and opinions, however, were so pronounced and so well sustained that they carried great influence with other Senators, and he was able to defeat several nominations sent to the Senate by Mr. Cleveland, notably two for the position of Judges on the Supreme Bench. No one maintained that these nominations were not good ones, but as they did not commend themselves to Mr. Hill, and, it was claimed, were made without any reference to his wishes, he succeeded in effecting their summary rejection.

In stature Mr. Hill is rather below than above the average height, and, although somewhat sparely built, he is a man of physical strength and capable of enduring a large amount of labor and fatigue. Being a bachelor and unencumbered with domestic cares and concerns, he can devote himself exclusively to the affairs of State. He shows an intimate acquaintance with the history of his party, he is far-seeing and shrewd, is a master of debate, a sturdy antagonist when encountered, is perfectly cool and self-possessed, is skillful in the use of





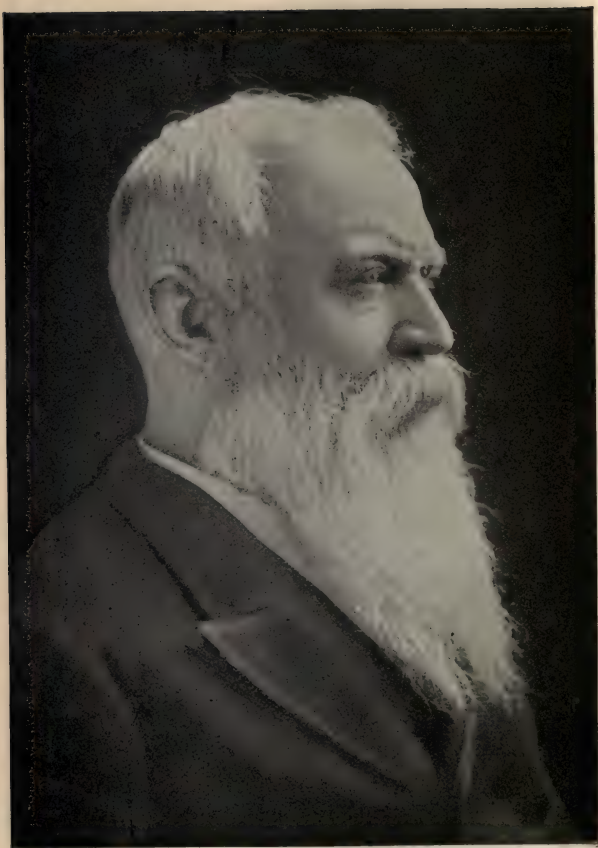
DAVID B. HILL.



JOSEPH B. FORAKER



JOHN WANAMAKER.



WILLIAM M. STEWART

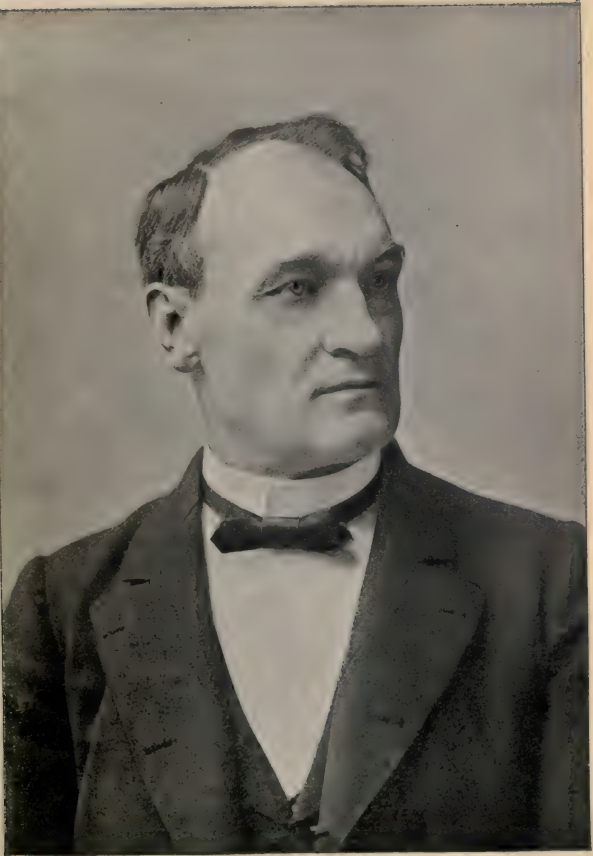


HENRY WATTERSON

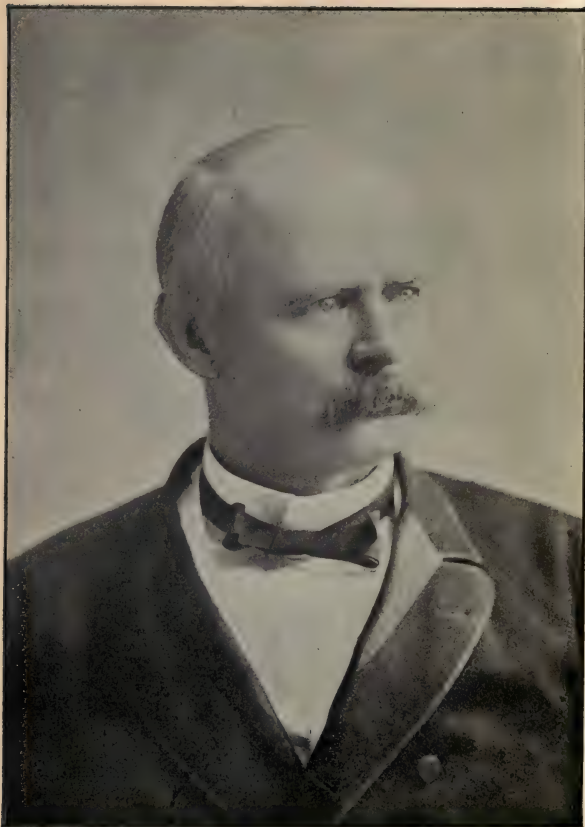


CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP.





JOHN G. CARLISLE



- ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

invective, and upon entering the Senate immediately assumed a commanding position. While looking after the interests of his native State, he has always been considered a strong partisan, and this must be accounted one of the elements which have given him success among those of his own political faith.

It is but just to say that Mr. Hill has been remarkably successful in his profession as a lawyer and in his efforts and aspirations as a politician. He does not seem to writhe under defeat, but assuming that there is another day coming and that the end is not yet, he fixes his face like a flint and pushes on against every storm of opposition or calumny. This in brief is the history of a man who exercises great influence in the councils of his party and is now prominent before the American people.

### FRANCES E. WILLARD.

**I**N every walk of life where it is possible for woman to display her talents, her success has been conspicuous. Our country has every reason to be proud of those members of the gentler sex who have commanded attention in authorship, sometimes in business, especially in works of reform, and whose influence has always been upon the side of good morals, higher education, and the development of the noblest womanhood.

While our progress as a nation has been rapid and such as to draw the wondering attention of the world, it is not all due to soldiers or statesmen. Our history could not be correctly written without mention of those women who, in the walks of private life, and frequently in more public spheres, have made their influence felt and have been leaders of thought and public opinion.

One of our most distinguished American women is the subject of this sketch. No one is more widely known or universally respected. She is possessed of talents of an unusual order, a warm and earnest spirit, untiring energy, the ability to influence others, and seems to be lacking in none of those qualities essential to successful achievement.

Miss Willard is known throughout the country for her devotion to the cause of reform, especially that branch of it embraced in Temperance work. She has attended meetings and conventions, and has lectured in every part of the land, and has always been received with the attention due to her position and character and the worthy objects she seeks to promote. She is eloquent in the best sense of the term, very fluent in speech, possessed of unusual tact, and has been heard by multitudes who are in the habit of affirming that they "do not care to hear a woman speak in public."

It may be truthfully said that her career exhib-

its all those elements which go to make one independent, aggressive, and progressive likewise. Throughout her life she has never thrust herself into notice, but has simply embraced the opportunities open to her, and has entered the field of usefulness when she heard the call for service. She was born in Churchville, N. Y., September 28, 1839, and was educated at Milwaukee and the Northwestern Female College at Evanston, Ill., from which she graduated in 1859. She became Professor of Natural Science there in 1862, and was Principal of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in 1866-'67.

Considering that no person's education is complete without those advantages furnished by travel and contact with the world, she spent two years abroad, and then returned to become Professor of *Æsthetics* in Northwestern University and Dean of the Woman's College. This position she filled from 1871 to 1874, and there developed her system of self-government, which has attracted wide attention and has been adopted by other educators. She became convinced at this time that there was a work for her to do in connection with the cause of Temperance.

In consequence of this decision she gave up all other engagements in 1874 to identify herself with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She was immediately made corresponding secretary,

discharging the duties of this office until 1879, when she was elevated from the position of secretary to that of president.

In 1876 she assisted Dwight L. Moody in his evangelistic work and rendered efficient service. During these years she traveled through the country, addressing legislatures and people's meetings in behalf of temperance and prohibition. She organized the Home Protection Movement, and sent an appeal from nearly two hundred thousand people to the Legislature of Illinois, asking for the Temperance ballot for women. She has always been of the opinion that the great reforms needed in America will never be brought about until women are permitted to vote, having a voice not merely in domestic affairs, but in public measures for the welfare of the community. Some of her hardest work has been done in the advocacy of this project.

On the death of her brother, Oliver A. Willard, in 1879, she succeeded him as chief editor of the *Chicago Evening Post*, but resigned soon afterward to devote all her time to the work which was dear to her heart, and in which she had exerted a wide and commanding influence. In 1886 she accepted the leadership of the White Cross movement in the societies founded by herself, and obtained enactments in many States for the protection of women.



In 1888 she was made President of the American Branch of the International Council of Women and of the World's Christian Union. In 1892 she visited England, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the friends of reform in that country. She was at the head of the Women's Committee of Temperance Meetings at the World's Fair in 1893. She is the editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, a journal of large circulation, and has issued nine volumes, containing addresses and other matter connected with those reforms in which she has been so conspicuous a figure.

Miss Willard bears her honors with becoming modesty and grace. Although a positive character, she is never bold or obtrusive, giving evidence constantly of the cultivated lady, the considerate adviser, and the warm-hearted, genial friend. In person she is a little above the medium height, has a clear-cut intellectual face, is always self-possessed and affable in manner.

In Miss Willard's career we have a graphic illustration of the influence woman can exert upon all the great questions of the day. She and others rightly believe that the great fountain of a pure national life is the home. This must be carefully guarded, and the rising generation must be correctly taught. Sound morals must be inculcated, and the noblest aims held up to view.

But what kind of a home can that be which is

cursed by the power of drink? What is to be done with this great evil that throws its withering blight over the whole land? If women can be excused, even commended and applauded, for showing an interest in public questions, urging on all true reforms, it surely is in the present case, since by efforts to check and destroy the evil of intemperance much is done for the salvation and the uplifting of the home. We are mainly concerned with Miss Willard's crusade, which could not be carried on without bringing her into public notice, and incurring the criticism that she is stepping out of the domestic sphere. Let her and all others step out, if thereby lasting good shall come to the country.

She will be identified with Temperance work and other reforms as long as she lives, and the best and truest womanhood will owe her a debt of profound gratitude. She stands for what is noblest in her sex, and may be congratulated upon having escaped hostile criticism to so large an extent.

Taking comparatively little interest in other questions of the day, except as they affect the cause to which she has devoted all her talents and energies, she constantly keeps one great end in view.

The best wishes of her country-women are with her in her great labor of love. There are many sympathetic souls who pray that her life may long be spared, and her influence widely extended.

**WILLIAM B. ALLISON.**

**T**HE career of this distinguished Senator affords another striking proof of the power and influence belonging to the individual man. Money talks for some men, social influence for others, learning and culture for others, and brains for others. The last-named element of success belongs especially to Mr. Allison. Combined with it is his sterling integrity and a character that has never been called in question.

For a long time he has stood in the halls of the United States Senate, taking an active part in all its deliberations and debates. He is considered a statesman, eminently wise and safe. While it may be said that he has gained large experience in Congress, it may also be said that he brought his experience with him. He was a man of public affairs, prominent and widely known, before going to Washington. It was but natural that, having gained a local celebrity, he should be transferred to the wider field.

His native state is Ohio, where he was born at Perry, Wayne County, March 2, 1829. Like many others who have molded the affairs of the nation, he spent his early years upon a farm. While the pursuit of agriculture is honorable and, fortunately,

is universally considered so, it is proverbial that farmers' boys rebel against the hard labor and monotonous life incident to a farm and seek some other calling.

These sons of farmers constitute some of the best timber we have in the nation. Their surroundings are not generally luxurious, they are trained to habits of industry, they usually obtain at least a good common-school education, and by the sheer force of intellectual ability and perseverance, they often rise to positions of great honor and usefulness. It did not take long for Mr. Allison to outgrow the farm. He had an ambition which could not be gratified by any such pursuit.

He was educated at Allegheny College, Pa., and at the Western Reserve College, Ohio, after which he took up the study of law and practiced his profession in Ohio until 1857. He wished to locate farther west, where he could be identified with a growing town. He removed to Dubuque, Iowa, where he has since made his home. Being by nature a citizen of public spirit, interested in all that concerned the town of his adoption, he soon became widely known, and was not more widely known than he was respected. His gift of speech was such as to inspire confidence. Matters of grave responsibility were at once committed to his hands. Like many lawyers, he anticipated public life and political preferment.

He was sent as a delegate to the Chicago convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency in 1860, and in the following year became a member of the staff of the governor of Iowa. When the war broke out he was among the first to offer his services to the government, being willing to let his profession suffer in order to help maintain the cause of the Union. He rendered valuable service in raising troops and organizing volunteer regiments for the war. Those were stirring times, and the exigencies brought into prominence many men who might otherwise have remained in comparative obscurity.

In 1862, Mr. Allison was elected to the 38th Congress as a Republican. He served in this capacity with such fidelity and distinction that he was re-elected to the three succeeding Congresses. His re-election, his neighbors were accustomed to remark facetiously, was chronic. He served continuously as a member of that body from December 7, 1863, until March 3, 1871. Often he was appointed on important committees, and being a willing worker, was soon known as one of the most industrious members of the House.

At the same time, he kept in close touch with his constituents at home. They marked his achievements and were proud of his advancement in the estimation of the public. He was always found at the post of duty, never shuffled or evaded

any question of importance, was always willing to have his opinions known, and was always able to give a reason for the faith that was in him.

In 1873, he was elected by the Legislature of Iowa to the United States Senate to succeed James Harlan, and since that time has been re-elected almost without opposition. Thus it will be seen that he has had one of the longest terms of service that has fallen to the lot of any public man. There are no sensational elements in his character. He does not glare like a meteor nor astonish others by ill-considered and unexpected methods.

Mr. Allison's character, attainments and public services have been such as to point to him for a presidential nomination. Accordingly, on several occasions, his name has been mentioned in the national Republican Conventions. While he has had a large following, and many prominent men in the Northwest and elsewhere have endorsed him, others have distanced him in the race.

It is, however, a high distinction to be prominently named for a presidential nomination. Such an honor can never be conferred upon a weak, insignificant man. Mr. Allison is one who fully justifies the confidence of the public and whose elevation to the highest position in the nation would be fittingly bestowed.

It is frequently the case that men of reputation diminish and appear to disadvantage as one gets



near to them. They do not stand out in all the grand proportions pictured by our imagination. "'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view," and as they are looked at from afar they are apt to be invested with very heroic qualities. Then, as we get a nearer view, the charm is dispelled, and the delusion and disappointment become apparent. Very few men gain much by a close inspection. We are apt to place our public men on a pedestal, and look up to them with a kind of awe. Upon a nearer approach we find that they stand on the ground, and perhaps are not so very far above the common level.

It has, however, been said of Mr. Allison, that the near view is the one most favorable. He bears acquaintance remarkably well, and while not showy or dazzling, there is much about him to be commended, and the service he has rendered as a national legislator forms the record of an honored page of our history.

The personal appearance of Mr. Allison indicates strength of body and of mind. He is large and well formed. His face is not that of a scholar, but rather the man of affairs. He is a type of the sturdy, honest, practical man, who conveys at once the impression of good sense and the possession of a level head. In his speeches he does not circumnavigate his subject, but comes at it at once. He always speaks to the point. Having something

to say and being able to say it, others are willing to listen and be instructed.

He has the rare faculty of saying what he means and clothing his thoughts in such language that no double interpretation can be put upon his statements. The quaint old adage of calling a spade a spade applies in his case. As a type of the useful citizen, the able legislator, the genial and hearty friend, the man of culture, breadth and fullness, Mr. Allison is conspicuous. Such men at the head of public affairs give stability and confidence to the nation. Our country has been favored with many of this description, and among this galaxy of shining ones must be placed the subject of this brief biography.

### CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP.

**M**R. CRISP has been a well-known figure in Congress since the period of his first election. He had gained a wide celebrity in Georgia, had shown himself, in various ways, to be a man suited to leadership, and his elevation to the House of Representatives was only to be expected, and was a worthy tribute to the man. He seems to have been by nature marked out for political life, and it will be generally admitted that in Washington he found his appropriate sphere.

Mr. Crisp was born in Sheffield, England, January 20, 1845. His parents were Americans, tem-

porarily residing in England, and returned to this country in 1846, when the subject of the sketch was about one year old. Thus, although Mr. Crisp is not a native of the United States, he comes as near it as one possibly can, being distinctively American by parentage and education.

The family having settled in Georgia, the boy was placed in the common schools, where he received his education. While quick to learn and exhibiting qualities of mind much above the average, he also displayed marked traits which have been prominent through all his subsequent career. He was independent, positive, aggressive, and self-reliant. He was not in the habit of allowing any of his rights to be invaded without showing quick resentment. In time, he became a leader among the young men by whom he was surrounded, and over whom he exerted great influence.

Even at this period he seemed to combine in a remarkable degree wise foresight and judgment with impetuous force. He was evidently born to be a power in whatever sphere circumstances placed him. He shared the spirit of the South which flamed out in secession, and in this he was only like the great body of young men in the Southern States. It is a well-known fact that quite largely the Confederate Army was composed of this class. They were strong in their convictions; they were eager for action in the field; they

were willing to take risks and make sacrifices. They did not count their lives dear to them, and history shows that tens of thousands of them fell upon the battle-field, reddening its sod with their warm blood.

In 1861 Mr. Crisp entered the Confederate Army as a lieutenant. He saw a good deal of active service in the field, showed himself to be a good soldier, and won the approbation of his superiors. He was a prisoner of war from May, 1864, until June, 1865. After his release he studied law, and practiced first at Ellaville, and afterward at Americus, Ga., which latter place became his subsequent home. He quickly took high rank in his profession, and gained rapid prominence, being well thought of by older lawyers as well as by the community in which he lived.

In 1872 he was appointed solicitor-general of the Southwestern Judicial Court, and held that office until the middle of 1877, when he became judge of the Superior Court of the same circuit. He showed himself to be fully equipped for the exacting duties of his position, lending dignity to his office, and evincing that impartial spirit which properly belongs to the occupant of the judicial bench. He could have remained in this position if he had chosen, but whether satisfied with his successes or not, his fellow-citizens had already expressed their wishes to have him represent them at Washington.

He resigned from the bench in September, 1882, to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress. He was permanent president of the Democratic Convention which assembled in Atlanta in April, 1883, to nominate a candidate for governor. Thus his steps all seemed to be in the natural order of things, one following the other in a kind of logical sequence. He was elected to the Forty-eighth Congress, and immediately took high rank among the members of the House, being prominent on all occasions in the deliberations of his party, and regarded as one of the wisest and most efficient leaders.

When the Democratic party came into power with Mr. Cleveland's second administration, Mr. Crisp was unanimously selected to assume the responsible duties of Speaker of the House, and was chosen to that position. His knowledge of parliamentary law, his experience upon the floor of Congress, his character for impartial judgment, gained when connected with the courts of his adopted State, all marked him out as possessing the necessary qualifications for the Speakership. During the sessions of the Fifty-second Congress he added greatly to his reputation, and it was generally conceded that he was a worthy successor of the able presiding officers who had gone before him.

Even his political opponents agreed that his rulings and decisions showed at all times careful consideration, and were unbiased by prejudice.

In manner, Mr. Crisp is a type of the cultivated gentleman, urbane, cordial, courteous, and approachable upon all occasions. Possessed of great independence and resolution, always looking at public questions from a practical point of view, firm in the maintenance of his opinions, and immovable as a rock when conscious that he is in the right, he affords a central point around which the sentiment of his party shapes itself. In debate, he is incisive, fluent, forcible, and ordinarily shows a thorough study and complete grasp of his subject.

He has proven himself to be a formidable antagonist, and many are the weapons of lesser men that have been broken upon his shield, and have fallen harmless at his feet. At times his utterances are bold and almost defiant, yet his evident sincerity assures him a respectful hearing, while the honesty of his convictions is always plainly apparent. Taking him all in all, he is a typical representative of the locality from which he comes and of the party whose ideas and principles he holds with tenacity and expounds with such marked ability.

After the shifting fortunes of political parties had deprived Mr. Crisp of his position at the head of the House of Representatives, he resumed his place on the floor to represent again the district that had repeatedly honored him. He did not seem to lose interest in national legislation, but,



although acting with the minority, and knowing beforehand that measures advocated by himself and friends were not certain to be passed, he did not relax his vigilance, or in any way diminish his efforts in behalf of what he deemed essential to the public welfare.

By common consent he was leader of his party, and, being so regarded, he had the chief voice in its deliberations. His entire history as a public man had been so free from mistakes, and so contrary to the intrigues of the mere self-seeking partisan, that he commanded the utmost respect and confidence. It was sufficient to know what were his views on public questions in order to gather around him a strong and loyal band of supporters. Not that he has ever been in the habit of exercising a domineering spirit, or of showing any attempt to override the honest convictions of other men. His appeal has always been to reason and common sense. Mr. Crisp's native qualities have been his success; at the same time they have been quickened by a broad culture and large experience.

Not over-ambitious for personal preferment, not willing to sacrifice conviction to popularity, not crazed by the allurements of office, but willing to fulfill every obligation as it comes, he is the kind of man the people delight to honor with their good will and appreciation.

## CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

**T**HERE are Americans who do not need to be placed in official position, who do not need to be Governors, Senators or Presidents, to exert a commanding influence and stand in the eye of the nation. They are capable of winning celebrity in more private walks. Some of our most distinguished citizens have never been placed to any considerable extent under political responsibility. There are those who appear to be naturally outside of office, if not altogether superior to it. Their worth lies entirely in themselves, irrespective of position or surroundings.

If one were asked to name the most eminent citizen of our country, Chauncey Mitchell Depew would be mentioned as one of them. His fame has gone into all parts of the land, among men of business, politicians, leaders of thought, those who are especially interested in moral reform—in fact, among all classes of our citizens Mr. Depew is known for his estimable qualities, his intellectual ability and his genial nature. He did, indeed, at one time hold office, but this was many years ago, and, while he has always been interested in politics, and has even been suggested as the candidate of his party for the Presidency, he does not appear to have sought distinctions of this description.

Mr. Depew is a man of broad and liberal education. He was born in Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834. Even in his boyhood he was a gifted declaimer, and gave prophecy then of his distinguished career as an orator. The old saying that "the boy is the father to the man" is illustrated in his case. He graduated from Yale College in 1856, having taken high rank during his course, especially in the department of rhetoric and oratory. Many were the contests he had in college, and many were the times that he emerged from them with complete success. His social disposition, his breezy manner, his happy knack of merry-making and his fund of anecdote, rendered him a general favorite.

In 1858 he began practicing law, considering that this profession furnished the widest opportunities for such abilities as he could command. His public career as an orator was begun in 1856 in the Fremont campaign. At this time he identified himself with the young Republican party, of which he has since been a prominent and enthusiastic member. He became widely known throughout the eastern part of New York for his pithy and eloquent stump-speeches, and very soon found himself in favor with the older leaders of the party. His youth, his self-possession, his fluency, his grasp of the subjects he treated, his unbounded enthusiasm, drew immediate attention and marked a coming man.

In 1861 he was sent to the Legislature of New York, and two years later he was elected Secretary of State, declining a re-election two years subsequently. He found it necessary to devote his time somewhat exclusively to his profession, considering that this was his legitimate calling, and to pursue it would prove of lasting benefit to him in the end. In 1866 he was chosen attorney for the New York and Harlem Railroad, and three years later, when the railroad was consolidated with the New York Central, he became general counsel of the company. He was elected second Vice-President of the Central Railroad in 1882, and the following year President of the "Vanderbilt roads."

In person Mr. Depew is above the medium height, has prominent features and a clear, penetrating voice that can be heard by the largest audiences.

### JOHN SHERMAN.

OUR Civil War and the stirring times that followed it have developed some statesmen of distinguished ability, who will long be remembered and honored for the invaluable services they have rendered to the nation. There is always a large class of people prating about the "good old times," telling how superior the early statesmen were to those of more recent date, glorifying the founders of the Republic, and implying that with their

death a large part of our national capacity for public affairs went out of existence, never to return.

It is well to be patient with those who live in the shadow of bygone days, although we may be compelled to pity their simplicity. They show very little knowledge of current history, if they imagine that all the virtue and all the statesmanship belong to a past generation. With all due respect to the ability of that great class of heroes and patriots whose deeds have given lustre to our early American history, it must yet be remembered that there are giants in these days, and that the next generation will outline their figures in grand proportions, as we do those of former times.

The name of John Sherman has been closely associated with our national affairs for more than thirty years. During this long period few men have wrought more valiantly, have stood out more prominently in the eye of the nation, have marked their career with greater achievements or have committed fewer mistakes. An eminently wise and safe man he has been. Always strong in his party convictions, he has yet been something more than a politician. He was originally freighted with material sufficient to enable him to fill every position he has occupied, so that it has never been said of him that he was unequal to the occasion.

From early manhood he has given to the public an impression of massive strength, great intellec-

tual insight, close familiarity with public affairs, unswerving integrity, and an ability, especially in the matter of finances, second to that of no other man in the nation. To write Mr. Sherman's history is to write his eulogy.

He was born in Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823. When he was but six years old his father died, leaving a large family in reduced circumstances, and he was subsequently adopted by a relative living at Mt. Vernon, Ohio. At the age of twelve a sister took charge of him and put him in a school at Lancaster, where he acquired an education.

He studied law with his brother, C. T. Sherman, at Mansfield, where he afterward practiced for ten years, and where he was married, in 1848, to a daughter of James Stewart. He was looked upon as a rising man, and gained a distinction which was not confined to the limits of his profession. His neighbors and friends believed that he possessed unusual qualifications for public life.

In 1855 he was elected to the 34th Congress in the interest of the Free Soil party, and was re-elected to the 35th and 36th Congresses. He became a power on the floor and in committees, and was recognized as the foremost man in the House, particularly in matters affecting finance. He was again elected to Congress in 1860, but in the following year was chosen to the United States



Senate, where he at once became a leader. After the close of the Civil War he and Thaddeus Stevens prepared the bill for the reconstruction of the Southern States, which was passed by Congress in the winter of 1866-67.

In March, 1877, Senator Sherman was appointed by President Hayes, Secretary of the Treasury, a position which he retained until the close of Mr. Hayes' administration, in 1881, when he re-entered the Senate, of which he has been a member ever since, having discharged his duties with such fidelity and efficiency as to insure his continual re-election. Few men have ever had such confidence placed in them, and few have ever done so little to disappoint it.

Having made the subjects of Finance and Revenue a special study, he was looked upon as eminently fitted for his position in the Cabinet, and when he returned to the Senate and there found grave problems confronting the country, he addressed himself earnestly to the task of solving them and putting the finances of the nation upon a sound basis. It was due to his management, while at the head of the Treasury, that the resumption of specie payments was effected in 1879, without disturbance to the financial or commercial interests of the country. Naturally he has been brought into close relations with capital, with banks and bankers, with moneyed men of

every description, who have placed great reliance on his judgment and advice.

He was a prominent candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1880, and again in 1888, but if this was ever seriously his goal of ambition, he stopped short of gaining the prize. Lacking, probably, in some of those magnetic qualities which belong to a great popular leader, he has never been able to command a following large enough to place him at the head of his party in a presidential campaign. His intellect is cold and keen, his manner is dignified and somewhat reserved; he means business, and that only, so constantly, that he has never drawn around him a sufficient number of influential men who were willing to make him their idol and stake every thing upon his advancement.

Mr. Sherman would not be selected as a shining example of the brilliant statesman. He is not possessed of that peculiar magnetism by which many other prominent men in the nation have been distinguished, but he is a fine type of those substantial, useful qualities by which the best results are always brought about. He has never aimed to startle the public by dash and enthusiasm. His mind is judicial, and as a jurist he would be preëminent.

His ripe age, calm judgment, and devotion to his constituents on the one hand, and to his own

political faith on the other, have drawn to him universal respect. His life is one that is well rounded and complete. Especially has he shown himself familiar with our national finances, upon which he has long been an authority.

That his service in Washington has been as useful as it has been protracted, will be denied by no one. He was, until 1893, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Organization, Conduct and Expenditures of the Executive Departments, the Select Committee on the Quadro-Centennial and the Committee on Rules.

In person Mr. Sherman is very tall and somewhat spare. He has a nervous, energetic temperament, and is capable of great endurance and of a vast amount of work. Having risen from the poverty of boyhood to the commanding heights of personal power and influence, he affords a fine illustration of the ample success within the grasp of every young American possessed of ability, industry and laudable ambition. He has left his imprint upon the recent history of our country, which cannot be written without frequent reference to the important measures conceived and fostered by his wise and eminent statesmanship.

In a ripe old age, he can look back with no ordinary satisfaction upon his long and successful career.

## JOHN G. CARLISLE.

THE Secretary of the Treasury during Mr. Cleveland's second administration is a man of national repute. Few men in our public councils have exerted an influence upon their party and its policies so controlling and so constantly felt. Mr. Carlisle has many of the characteristics which gain distinction and draw the attention of the people at large. While not wishing to differ from others, he yet has views and opinions which are clearly defined and which have been so carefully thought out that he is able to give a reason for the faith that is in him.

It is noticeable that in his political career he has advanced steadily step by step and has met with no crushing defeats or disappointments. With him, political life does not seem to have been a lottery, but by substantial merit and active service he has advanced to the highest positions possible for one to occupy.

Like many others who have been conspicuous in public life, he is a native of Kentucky, a State which is eminent for having produced able men whose names are to be found in every pursuit and profession.

He was born in Campbell, now Kenton, County,

September 5, 1835. The same story of comparatively humble life, in which so many distinguished men have been reared, must be told of him. Yet the American people feel a kind of pride in a self-made man, and are not unwilling to honor him when he is worthy of their profound regard. Mr. Carlisle was a school-teacher in his younger days, a profession which educates those who engage in it, while they are the educators of their pupils.

He devoted himself to the study of law, and in 1858 was admitted to the bar. At once he became a public man and was elected a member of the Kentucky Legislature in 1859. Among men much older than himself, and of wider repute, he held a place second to that of no other, and gave promise at that time of his subsequent long and distinguished career. Not assuming to possess abilities which did not belong to him, others were all the more willing to concede to him what was his honest due. In 1864 he was nominated as presidential elector on the Democratic ticket, but declined to serve.

He was afterward elected to the Senate of his native State and held this office until 1871, when he was nominated for lieutenant-governor, and, with the other candidates upon the ticket, was elected by a large majority. In the various positions he held he showed himself always to be the same

man, conscientious, of broad views and unimpeachable integrity.

By this time it was felt that his party could not well dispense with his services, and he was elected to Congress. The wider sphere of influence seemed to call out all his latent powers and energies, and he gradually became one of the most influential members in the House of Representatives.

During a part of the time he occupied the chair of Speaker, the highest position in the gift of his party. He filled this place with marked ability, never having been accused of unfair decisions or unjust treatment of the opposing party in the House. He also showed himself to be a man of good executive ability, doing much to expedite public business and showing himself impatient with delays and the various subterfuges sometimes adopted to block legislation.

Mr. Carlisle's next position of honor was an election to the United States Senate as successor to Senator Blackburn. He remained in the Senate until he was chosen by President Cleveland as Secretary of the Treasury. It was felt that no other Democrat was better fitted to have charge of our national finances. His views upon financial questions were well known, and in one of the state elections in Kentucky, he expressed himself in favor of sound money in the most unmistakable



terms. His views, so ably presented, attracted universal attention.

Mr. Carlisle has been considered an advocate of a low tariff. While believing in the principle of protection, he has been very careful to express his dissent from carrying it to excess. In all his public utterances he has aimed to present such arguments as would convince the popular mind. His skill as a debater, his comprehensive grasp of every subject he treats and his evident candor, give great weight to his views and go far toward convincing those whom he wishes to win to his own political faith.

Personally, Mr. Carlisle is affable, a man of generous impulses, and popular among men of all shades of political belief.

### ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

**M**R. STEVENSON was born in Christian County, Kentucky, October 28, 1835, and was educated at Center College, Danville. From the period of his entrance into this institution, he was well thought of and highly respected. As a young man he exhibited few of the boyish traits which characterize so many. He appeared to be mature beyond his years, and by close attention to his studies and strict obedience to the rules of order in the College, he merited and received the esteem of his instructors and fellow-students. He

was evidently bent on business, with no intention of making his time in College a mere play-spell. The high position he gained is evident from the fact that he afterward married the daughter of the president of the College, Dr. Lewis Green.

His family having removed to Bloomington, Illinois, during his College course, he repaired thither after his graduation and entered upon the study of law in the office of the late David Davis. He became a thorough master of his profession, gaining meanwhile the esteem of his fellow-townsmen and their high opinion of his ability. He continued the practice of his profession in Metamora and Bloomington until 1874, when he was elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket.

This honor was all the more remarkable from the fact that Mr. Stevenson possessed few of the traits of the typical politician. He was modest in disposition and more retiring than men are apt to be who seek public office. In fact, it may be said that he did not seek the office; rather, the office sought him. Having served in Congress two years, he was a candidate for re-election in 1876, but was defeated.

In 1878 he was again the candidate of his party, and this time was elected. In 1880 and 1882 he was again defeated by small majorities. He was considered in Washington an able legislator, a strong debater, and a Congressman of much more than ordinary ability and efficiency.

In 1885 President Cleveland appointed him First Assistant Postmaster-General, a tribute to the esteem in which he was held, and the confidence reposed in him, which his administration of his office proved was not misplaced. He was popular with public officials in Washington, and by close attention to the postal affairs of the nation, rendered excellent service. At the same time he was a thorough party man, being such, evidently, from conviction. He made his support of President Cleveland conspicuous and was a trusted friend and counsellor of the administration.

Even before 1892 he had been much talked of in the West as a presidential possibility, and many of his party were outspoken in advocating his claims. It was felt that a man of his sagacity, wisdom and executive ability should be at the head of national affairs, and this sentiment became so strong that in 1892 many predicted he would receive the nomination for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Cleveland, however, was the choice of the party, and Mr. Stevenson was named for the Vice-Presidency. He immediately threw himself heart and soul into the campaign, and his speeches and efforts in other directions, did much toward swinging Illinois into the Democratic column, a result which, to say the least, was a profound surprise to the whole nation. The office of Vice-President

has never been regarded as the most desirable for the display of statesmanship, or as a stepping-stone to the White House.

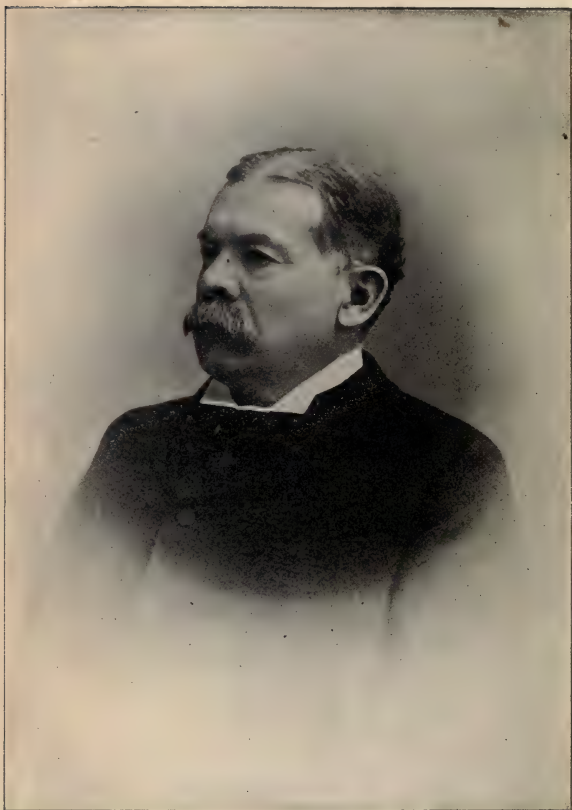
Thus circumscribed as Mr. Stevenson has been, he has not occupied that share of public attention which naturally would have fallen to his lot if he had been an ordinary member of the Senate, or even of the House. Yet he has discharged the duties of his office efficiently, without partisan bias, and in such a way as to gain the respect of even his political opponents.

It is one of the anomalies of political life in our country that so few men who have held the office of Vice-President have been elevated to the chair of the Chief Executive. Yet there can be no doubt that the founders of the nation intended it to be otherwise. In their thought the Vice-President was the heir apparent to the higher position, but the changes of public sentiment have otherwise determined.

In person Mr. Stevenson is rather tall and well built. He has a strong voice, fluent utterance and is admirably adapted for discussing political questions before the people. His grasp of his subject and ability to handle it are apparent, and he receives strict attention to what he has to say. Taking him all in all, few leaders of his party are more worthy of being honored or more deserving of confidence.



ROBERT E. PATTISON



RICHARD OLNEY.





WILKINSON CALL



ROSWELL P. FLOWER.



LEVI P. MORTON



WILLIAM P. FRYE



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



**ROBERT T. LINCOLN.**

**N**O figure in American history is more majestic than that of Abraham Lincoln. He was called to lay his hand on the helm when the ship of state was among the breakers and threatened with destruction. His sturdy common sense, his broad statesmanship, his unswerving patriotism, his skill in handling men, combined to make him a great man for a great emergency. Such an emergency was the Civil War, through which Mr. Lincoln displayed the qualities of a great leader.

The fatal bullet that resulted in his death left only one to bear his honored name who was destined to reach mature life. Several sons died in their early days, and Mr. Lincoln was peculiarly unfortunate in the loss of his children. One, however, Robert Todd Lincoln, grew to manhood, a strong, muscular, well-proportioned, vigorous man, yet not closely resembling his father whose slender, yet rugged figure, towered above ordinary men. Looking at the faces of father and son, one would discover no marked resemblance between them. The face of the father is long, spare and marked by prominent features; that of the son is more round and full, yet is characterized by what

could best be described as a combination of intelligence and dignity.

Near the close of the Civil War, we find Robert T. Lincoln a captain on the staff of General Grant. Thus the White House was represented on the battle-field, and the only son of the President of the United States took up arms in defense of his country. No stronger evidence could be furnished of the patriotic spirit which pervaded the high places of the land. Although young at this time, Mr. Lincoln showed the commanding qualities which distinguished his father, and was a faithful and efficient staff-officer.

He was born at Springfield, Illinois, August 1, 1843. Although his father had only a common-school education, and somewhat limited, even at that, he knew the value of education and resolved that his children should have as good advantages as he could possibly furnish them. Robert took a course of study at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., and at Harvard. He resolved to study law, and his course at Harvard was shaped with this end in view. Having been admitted to the bar, he practiced law in Chicago until 1881. Not merely by reason of being the son of President Lincoln, but by reason of his own manly qualities, sound judgment and ability in his profession, he attracted public notice and was already embarked upon a distinguished career. The public press

pointed to him as one in every way worthy of a position in the cabinet of President Garfield, and there was no surprise, but rather universal gratification, when he received the portfolio of Secretary of War. This office he retained until the close of President Arthur's administration, when he returned to his practice of law in Chicago.

The position of Secretary of War did not permit of any brilliant display of talents. It required strict attention to public affairs, to the details of the office, and to the measures relating to the War Department, which were from time to time enacted by Congress. All these duties were discharged by Mr. Lincoln in the most creditable manner, and he became one of the most conspicuous members of the cabinet. He was never charged with any visionary schemes, was sound and just in his conclusions, was so conservative as to command the respect and confidence of all thoughtful persons, and left his office with an enviable national reputation.

When President Harrison came into office in 1889, Mr. Lincoln was strongly recommended by his friends as a suitable person to represent our country at one of the foreign courts. It required no urging for Mr. Harrison to confer this honor, and Mr. Lincoln was appointed Minister to England. This position he filled with distinguished ability during President Harrison's term of office,

and returned to this country in 1893 when President Cleveland began his second administration. He passed gracefully again into private life, yet was not forgotten by his party, who have, in various ways, shown him marks of the highest esteem and expressed a desire that he should hold such relations to public affairs as would enable him to render the services that could be expected of him in view of his past successes.

Mr. Lincoln is a strong, forcible speaker, somewhat resembling his honored father in this respect, exhibiting the more weighty and convincing elements of oratory, in contrast with the brilliant pyrotechnics by which so many men in public life render themselves notorious. He is a fine example to the young men of our country in those noble qualities which go to form the best manhood. It is safe to say that whatever position or sphere he may occupy he will prove himself to be a public man of sterling integrity, strict honesty, safe judgment, exerting an influence which will tend to promote the public welfare irrespective of all party prejudice. Such men are the nation's treasure, her most enduring riches.

The consciousness of personal integrity and well-merited appreciation belongs to many men who are not panting for public office, yet, if it is bestowed, they are capable of showing themselves well-fitted for the task.

## MELVILLE W. FULLER.

**L**AWYERS of high reputation are found in all parts of our country, and here, more than in almost any other profession, it is difficult to draw distinctions and say that one is superior to another. Taken as a whole, the profession of law exhibits keen intellectual ability and marked oratorical power.

Some members of the profession have been eminent as jurists, such as Chief-Justice Marshall and Chief-Justice Chase. Others have been eloquent pleaders, like Webster and Choate. Others have excelled in that intellectual acuteness which is especially required in untangling the meshes of the law.

It is true that very able jurists have been placed upon the bench of the Supreme Court. Yet these never have enjoyed a monopoly of legal talent. Others of equal ability might have been elevated to the same position, fulfilling its duties with equal efficiency.

The subject of this sketch did not have a national reputation until he was nominated for Chief Justice by President Cleveland and promptly confirmed by the Senate. That such an honor is great is universally conceded; it is one of the highest that

can be conferred. It has been said that the Supreme Court is peculiarly the pride and glory of our country. Although this was said by a member of the Court and appears to have a touch of self-praise about it, nevertheless it must be admitted to be true.

Here is the tribunal of last resort. Here questions are decided which pertain even to the Constitution and government of the country. Matters of the gravest import are constantly before the Court, vast interests hinging upon their decision. Beyond this tribunal there is no appeal. Its word is final and is not to be disputed. Its decisions pass into laws, into principles of action, and even become a part of our unwritten Constitution.

History furnishes a record of many tribunals, some just, some unjust, some cruel, some merciful, some pure, and many corrupt; but in all the long story of civilization from ancient Egypt down through the Greek and Roman Empires to the present day, there can be found no judicial organization more worthy of high honor and profound respect than the Supreme Court of the United States.

Intimately interwoven as its proceedings have been with the national and individual life of our people, calmly deciding, as it has, matters of the gravest import, involving vast measures of wealth, political consequences unmeasurable in mere money,



and questions on the turn of which hung millions of lives, no taint of suspicion ever sullied its honor, the serious charge has seldom been made, even in the heat of sectional strife and bitterness, that its decision, or the decisions of its individual members, were guided by aught save the cold, passionless mandate of the law, clothed with the significance that each one attached to its utterance.

It was characterized by an eminent jurist as "The court which interprets the living voice of the Constitution." "In whatever has concerned the national welfare, this court has," he said, "always stood for the conscience of the people of the United States."

The character and eminence of its members must ever be a subject of deepest interest to all Americans, for it is readily conceivable that without a Marshall, a Waite, a Storey and a Chase, as Chief-Justices, our national and political development might have proceeded upon lines far different from the ones which it has followed.

The position held by the Supreme Court, the importance of the cases brought to its judgment and the far-reaching effects of its decisions, require jurists of the most profound learning, the widest experience, the utmost patience and candor, and personal characters above reproach. That Mr. Fuller meets these requirements to a most eminent degree, is universally admitted. He was born in

Augusta, Maine, February 11, 1833, and twenty years later graduated from Bowdoin College, an institution which has been peculiarly favored in its distinguished graduates. Having studied law at Harvard College, Mr. Fuller entered upon the practice of his profession in his native city in 1855.

His mind seems to have had a leaning toward journalism, and he became the editor of the *Augusta Age*, while at the same time he became prominent in local politics, having been made president of the Common Council during his editorship. In 1856 he was elected City Attorney. But, like many young men born and reared in New England, he was seized with the Western fever, and determined to go West to find a wider field for his energies. He removed to Chicago, where, for thirty-two years, he conducted a highly successful law practice, having gained immediately a wide reputation for legal acumen, and for honorable methods in the management of his cases.

At the same time, he did not divorce himself from public affairs. He was a member of the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1862, and of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1863. A strong Democrat, he served as a delegate to all the national Conventions from 1864 to 1880 inclusive, and was always prominent in the councils of his party, where his word had the greatest influence. His successful career naturally pointed to a

higher position of service than he had hitherto occupied. Not only the men of his own party, but his fellow-citizens generally looked upon him as an able, honorable and upright man.

When President Cleveland selected him to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Bench of the United States caused by the death of Chief-Justice Waite, the choice was pronounced a wise one by those who knew Mr. Fuller best. Those who had not known him were somewhat surprised at his selection, but subsequent events have justified the wisdom of the choice. He was confirmed by the Senate July 20, 1888, and took the oath of office on the 8th of October following.

In the social life of Washington, Mr. Fuller and his family are widely known, making it a point to entertain their friends and show attention to strangers. Their delightful hospitalities are widely extended and thoroughly enjoyed. A large family of daughters, bright and well educated, lend attraction to the home. These have been reared, not after the straight-laced fashion, but, while placed under judicious parental restraint, they have been allowed such freedom as develops individuality of character, and, to a considerable extent, independence of action. They think for themselves, have opinions of their own, and are fully equal to all the social functions in which they are required to take part.

Mr. Fuller has received the degree of LL.D. from Bowdoin College, and also from the Northwestern University. This is simply the recognition of those distinguished abilities which have placed him at the head of the highest judicial tribunal in the land. In person he is of medium height and build, and not at all remarkable for what we are in the habit of calling "presence." His hair is white and is worn long; his face smooth, with the exception of a somewhat heavy mustache. His features are clear cut, giving evidence of the scholar and the thinker.

His decisions are marked by learning, profound insight into the merits of the case, and a simplicity and clearness of expression which render them capable of being comprehended by the average mind.

### WILLIAM EUSTIS RUSSELL.

THE "Old Bay State" can point with pride to the long array of illustrious names that illuminate the pages of its history. Some of the greatest orators, statesmen, successful merchants, and men eminent in every profession, have belonged to Massachusetts.

In early days the State was made up of a rugged, intelligent, Puritan stock, and the position it then gained in national affairs has been continued in a large degree to the present time. Many of the

great reforms which have swept over the nation, opposed at first, yet finally triumphant, have originated among the citizens of Massachusetts, and have been defended and carried forward by powerful advocates. The State may well take a lawful pride in the names that stand high upon the roll of her distinguished sons.

One of these is the subject of this sketch, William E. Russell, who, for various reasons, is a party leader of wide influence, and considered not only a rising man in his own community, but also by his party throughout the country. It is rarely that one so young is called to the highest positions of honor and responsibility. It does sometimes happen, however, that men appear on the scene of action who exhibit a maturity of mind and judgment beyond their years, and a personal magnetism that draws to them many followers and champions.

In the Eastern States the name of Mr. Russell seems to be a kind of talisman, a fine rallying cry. His success in public life has been very marked, and while he has a large following among the young men, great confidence is also placed in him by those who are older, and who, we would naturally suppose, would be somewhat suspicious of the sagacity and wisdom of a young man. This fact speaks volumes for Mr. Russell, and is something that never could have been said if he were not very evenly balanced, combining sound judg-

ment and deep acumen with the ardor and enthusiasm of youth.

He was born in Cambridge, Mass., January 6, 1857. Not having enjoyed all the advantages of academical training, he had to content himself with a common-school education. Yet it may be said that he was not "spoiled by college." He entered young into political life, soon became popular, and when but twenty-five years old was elected alderman, showing such rare ability in this office that he was re-elected without opposition.

In 1885 he was a candidate for mayor of Cambridge, was easily elected, and gave such satisfaction in the administration of that office that he was re-elected for three successive terms. He then abandoned politics and went into business; but one who had shown such ability, and enjoyed such popularity, could not be set aside by his party which was in need of a dashing leader.

He received the nomination for governor, but was defeated by 28,000. This, however, did not discourage him, and, having been nominated again in the succeeding year, he was defeated this time by only 6,775 votes. In 1890 he was again nominated and elected by nearly 9,000 plurality. The sentiment of his party crystallized around him, and so skillfully was his campaign conducted that even the dominant party of his State was unable to defeat him. At the end of his term he was re-



elected, and was finally defeated only by the great change in public sentiment which placed the Republican party again in the ascendant.

By this time he began to be talked about as one who was fitted for a place on the national ticket of his party. It was felt that his success and sterling qualities entitled him to such a place, as he had already gained the highest honor that could be conferred by his native State. In 1892 he was prominently mentioned for the Vice-Presidency, and again for the Presidency in 1896. If he were a western man he would doubtless have a much better chance for political promotion.

Mr. Russell is a young-looking man, with smooth face, strong features, and has withal an attractive personality. He is a good speaker, forcible and earnest, talks right home to his hearers, is brimming over with facts and arguments, possesses the courage of his convictions, and is so highly esteemed, and is manifestly so able, that many predictions have been made that he will yet gain a much more exalted place than any he has hitherto occupied.

There are unquestionably certain advantages in being "a young man in politics." An older man might say and do the same things, yet they would not attract so much attention as in the case of one younger. The latter also would have a more enthusiastic following.

## JOHN WANAMAKER.

THE career of no business man in the United States has been more successful than that of John Wanamaker. From the poor boy to the foremost merchant of our time, is an amazing step. Others may be accounted self-made men, miracles we might call them of energy and achievement, but to no other does the term phenomenal apply with as much force as it does to the subject of this sketch.

Not only is Mr. Wanamaker the greatest merchant in America, he is also one of our greatest men. By this we do not mean that he is brilliant from all points of view, that he is a profound scholar or a great orator, but in all the elements which go to form a true and noble manhood, a man successful in all his undertakings, and a private and public citizen of pre-eminent worth and influence, he may be considered unique.

It has been quite customary for instructors of the rising generation to point to Mr. Wanamaker as a shining example for young men. The young as well as the old learn best from object lessons. That Mr. Wanamaker should have been selected so frequently as a pattern for imitation is not surprising to those who know him best. Standing

conspicuously as he does before the public, it is not to be wondered at that he should have his critics, perhaps even enemies. All positive characters do have them, and it is greatly to their credit that they do. What impresses one especially is, that Mr. Wanamaker has so many sides to his character, and shows so much of genius, not only in one direction, but in many. It is not too much to say that if he had been engaged in any other pursuit than the mercantile, he would instantly have come to the front.

The secret of all this is simply in the man himself. Having the ability, it cannot help exhibiting itself under all circumstances. The man who is a natural-born leader is pretty sure to lead wherever you place him. He carries in his own strong will and iron arm successes beyond the reach of feebler men. Such an one does not need to have greatness thrust upon him; he is great already. The world always has estimated, and always will estimate, men by their successes. Judged by this inevitable standard, Mr. Wanamaker is a Saul among the Prophets.

He was born in Philadelphia, July 11, 1838; attended a country school until he was fourteen, and there obtained about the only education he ever received. His first place was that of messenger boy with the publishing house of Troutman & Hayes, at the exceedingly modest salary of \$1.25

a week. He lived over four miles from the store, and footed it morning and evening, eating at noon the plain lunch brought with him from home, put up for him by a loving mother's hands. Subsequently the family lived for a time in Kosciusko County, Indiana, but returned to Philadelphia in 1856, where young Wanamaker eventually obtained employment in Tower Hall, then the largest clothing house in that city.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, when he was twenty-three years old, he married Miss Brown, and, having obtained a very small capital, he went into the clothing business in partnership with his brother-in-law. Here the qualities of the man began to show themselves, and he became conspicuous for that business shrewdness, push, and perseverance, enterprise, courage, and breadth of views which have distinguished him ever since.

Of course, the business prospered and grew rapidly, until in time his clothing house became the largest in America. A second store was opened in the city, and afterwards several branch houses in other parts of the country. It is noticeable that from early manhood Mr. Wanamaker devoted himself enthusiastically to religious work, his activity in this respect keeping pace with that displayed in his business. He established a mission school in what was then a poor, neglected part of the city, so infested with rough, criminal charac-

ters, that it was scarcely safe for a respectable citizen to walk through its streets after nightfall.

This mission has grown to amazing proportions. It was the forerunner of the great Bethany Church and Sunday-schools, which have attracted attention, not merely in Philadelphia, but in all parts of the country. It may as well be said here that in connection with Bethany, advantages have been offered to young persons in humble circumstances for the study of various secular branches, a knowledge of which is intended to prepare them for business life. Moreover, arrangements have been made for the founding of an institute which will cost from one to two million dollars, where at a nominal rate young persons of both sexes can pursue academical studies, and have ample opportunities for manual training. This is one of Mr. Wanamaker's crowning achievements.

After the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, with the financial management of which he was prominently connected, he opened the great general store in Philadelphia which continues to be one of the wonders of the age. It occupies an entire square in one direction and half this space in another. The building was once a large freight depot, and when Mr. Wanamaker conceived the idea of opening a store of such gigantic dimensions it was freely prophesied that he would fail. Notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, there has

doubtless never been a time when Mr. Wanamaker was anywhere near the point of failing. Failure does not seem to be in the man.

Mr. Wanamaker's methods of conducting business have shown his original genius. These have been quite different from those long pursued, being especially noticeable in the liberality shown to the public. They are made to feel quite at home in the great establishment, are treated with the utmost courtesy, and if, after making purchases, these are not satisfactory, they can be returned. The theory is, that to treat the public liberally pays.

Quite naturally Mr. Wanamaker became prominent as a citizen and public man. He appeared to have no ambition for office, but for many years was fully occupied with the management of his vast concerns. His counsel and advice were, however, often sought, and it is probable that no preferment within the gift of his native city would have been denied him.

But he was destined to hold a much higher position and one that would identify him with the affairs of the nation at large. Having many times declined public office, in 1889 he accepted the portfolio of Postmaster-General in President Harrison's Cabinet, and introduced into the department the most approved business methods. His efficient administration did much toward perfecting and extending the postal service.



Mr. Wanamaker has long been distinguished for his liberal contributions to benevolent work, and it is certain that more than one institution, endowed by his munificence, will stand as a monument to his business capacity and liberal spirit.

He takes the view that a considerable part of his vast estate should be distributed during his lifetime under his own care and supervision. He is not willing merely to part with his money when compelled to by grim death, after the example of a great many.

### RICHARD OLNEY.

A POSITION in the Cabinet at Washington requires ability of a high order. Especially is this true of the positions of Attorney-General and Secretary of State. An Attorney-General must add to profound legal knowledge a sound judgment, a wise discretion, and executive ability equal to that of any manager of a large and exacting business. It is not enough that he should be merely a shrewd lawyer, a man skilled in the supposed tricks of the profession, nor is it expected that he should practice any of the unscrupulous arts that are so often charged upon the members of the bar.

A Secretary of State is expected to be a statesman. He must understand the policy of the government, and know by a kind of instinct what

position to take upon all critical questions. He must be a profound student of international law and be well acquainted with our relations to foreign governments.

That Richard Olney meets these unusual demands in an eminent degree, is universally conceded. By natural ability and broad culture, he is amply qualified for the positions he has held at Washington.

He was but little known, except in his native State of Massachusetts, when called to the Cabinet during the second administration of President Cleveland, although it must be said that his associates considered him one of the ablest lawyers of his time. He comes from one of the oldest New England families, and has back of him a sturdy stock and ancestry which have had so much to do in moulding the nation and shaping its history.

He was born in Oxford, Mass., in 1835, and at the comparatively early age of twenty-one graduated with high honors from Brown University, at Providence, R. I. In college he was distinguished for close application to his studies, rare scholarship and excellent literary ability. He was easily the peer of the brightest and most brilliant of his class. He seemed to be able to do easily what others could do only by the hardest labor.

After his graduation he entered the Harvard Law School, and in two years completed the

course. Thus, at the age of twenty-three, he was prepared to enter upon his profession. He was fortunate in being able to associate himself with Judge B. F. Thomas, a descendant of Isaiah Thomas, the publisher of the old *Thomas Almanac*, a publication known everywhere in Massachusetts, and regarded with a feeling almost akin to veneration. He was also the founder of the well-known journal, *The Worcester Spy*. In 1861 Mr. Olney married the daughter of Judge Thomas, thus uniting two distinguished families.

Efforts have been made in Massachusetts to make Mr. Olney one of the judges on the Supreme Bench of the State, but on two occasions he has declined the honor, and also, for the most part, has separated himself from political life. His ambition appeared to lie in other directions, and many positions of honor would have been conferred upon him if he had been willing to accept them. He did, however, in 1874, represent Roxbury in the State Legislature, proving himself to be a useful member of that body and thoroughly acquainted with the duties of a representative. In 1876 he was a candidate for Attorney-General of the State on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated with the other candidates of his party.

He has been counsel for two big western railroads, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. This shows the

estimate placed upon his legal ability. His work is always thorough, his arguments are logical and presented with admirable skill, he is quick to take advantage of the weak places in the case of his opponent, he exhibits a complete mastery of law, and, withal, impresses others as a man of honor and high character. His political party has always placed great confidence in his judgment, and in all critical periods have sought his counsel and advice.

It is said that during the first administration of President Cleveland his name was favorably considered for the position of Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; but the President did not quite reach the point of sending his name to the Senate for confirmation. That he would have been an able member, an ornament of that dignified body, is doubted by none who are acquainted with his qualifications and his admitted integrity.

In 1893 he was appointed by President Cleveland Attorney-General of the United States, where his strength of character, his eminent ability and profound knowledge of international law have made him conspicuous. Upon the death of Secretary Gresham, which occurred May 28, 1895, Mr. Olney was made Secretary of State. He has had the handling of some very important matters connected with the foreign policy of our government, and has acquitted himself in such a manner as to

command the admiration of his fellow-countrymen. He believes in a vigorous policy, yet one that is always founded upon right principles. He never takes a position which he is unable to defend and maintain.

He is a man of method, carrying on his work always in an orderly way, and showing marked attention to those details upon which success in any pursuit so largely depends. He is not accustomed to do things in any fitful or spasmodic manner, but on the contrary always shows cool judgment and calm deliberation. There is an absence of impulse and recklessness of decision which helps to fit him for his official duties.

Exhibiting these characteristics, he soon gained the confidence of public men in Washington. What opportunities in public life may lie before him no one can predict; neither would any one be surprised if he were to have larger responsibilities placed upon him.

A recent biography says: "Mr. Olney is a man of dignified bearing, one who appreciates the responsibilities of the position he occupies, and his reputation is that of a profound legal scholar, whose judgment on questions of law is seldom at fault."

Mr. Olney is a substantial, well-built man, capable of a great amount of labor; he has a genial, pleasant face, but never gives one the impression

that he is courting popularity. His manner is calm, yet his addresses are full of force, always engaging the attention of his hearers. There is a sharp expression to his eyes and a forward thrust of the head which seems to indicate a disposition to see his way, and a determination to go straight through every matter that occupies his attention.

Although not widely known when he went to Washington, he has become a man of national reputation. The best elements of manhood enter into his composition. He is a wise and safe counsellor, is possessed of marked individuality, and must be considered as one of the brightest ornaments of his profession. His comparatively quiet yet successful career furnishes a good example to the rising generation of lawyers. It shows what can be done by ability well applied and by industry that never tires.

### HORACE BOIES.

ON a farm near Buffalo, Erie County, New York, the subject of this biography was born in 1827. So far he had everything in his favor, being the son of a hard-working, honest farmer, and, as was supposed, destined to grow up in a pursuit which is honorable, healthful and affording the means of independence, for such are the views universally entertained of country life and the great farming community. Better, most persons



would say, thus to be a country boy than to run in the streets of the city, be prematurely developed, and become familiar with the vices of the town.

A sound mind in a sound body, is the first requisite of success in life, and if this is not the heritage of a farmer's boy, where else can it be found? To roam the hills and fields, to breathe the free fresh air, to feel the touch of nature in all her varied moods—all this is something to be coveted by the lad who means to make his mark in the world.

Horace Boies worked on the farm as assistant to his father in clearing the timber-land until he was sixteen years old, and during this time did many a hard day's work, and, to his credit let it be said, did it well.

At the age of seventeen he went West, to the great State of Wisconsin, under the impression that there he would have a better chance for making his way, obtaining a livelihood and, perhaps, amassing a fortune. He found employment on a farm, but did not long remain, for the reason that he was eager to obtain an education. He returned to his old home, took an academic course of study, and went into a lawyer's office.

In 1852 he began the practice of his profession in Buffalo, and in a few years had established an excellent reputation as a criminal lawyer. Still his mind was turned toward the West, and he

resolved to make another trial, with the intention and hope of becoming more prominent in public affairs than was likely to be the case if he remained in the city where he had begun the practice of his profession.

He removed to Waterloo, Iowa, in 1867, and there practiced in partnership with H. B. Allen for several years. He was afterwards associated with C. F. Couch until that gentleman retired to become a district judge in 1884. Gradually his name became widely known, his ability attracted notice, and, being a staunch Democrat, he soon became one of the most influential managers of his party in the State. They honored him with the nomination for governor in 1889, and so great was his popularity that he was elected. Two years later he was re-elected, but was subsequently defeated, although the excellence of his administration was universally admitted.

The triumph of the Democratic party in 1889 under his leadership was one of the unexpected revolutions in the State of Iowa, to which his personal popularity and masterly qualities as a leader largely contributed. He led the fight against prohibition legislation and gained a complete victory.

Mr. Boies was the choice of the Iowa and several other State delegations for the Presidency in the Democratic National Convention of 1892. For a number of years he has been regarded as the

leader of his party in Iowa, a skillful politician and effective speaker, a wise administrator of public office, and every way worthy of the great confidence reposed in him by his constituents.

### WILLIAM C. WHITNEY.

**M**R. WHITNEY must be considered one of the foremost leaders of the Democratic party. A gentleman of fine culture, large wealth, patriotic spirit, and possessed of great political shrewdness, which is universally admitted, he has long been eminent among the celebrities whose names are associated with our national affairs.

He was born in Conway, Mass., July 15, 1841. The circumstances of his family were such that he could receive a thorough preliminary education, and, being thus well fitted for College, he entered Yale, graduated in 1863, and subsequently studied law at Harvard, leaving the latter institution in 1865.

In the city of New York he began at once the practice of his profession, and soon won distinction. Possessed of a legal mind, vast social influence, and being withal a hard worker, he immediately stepped into the front ranks of the legal profession.

This did not prevent him from turning his attention to politics, and in 1871 he joined the Young Men's Democratic Club, soon acquiring a prominence almost beyond his years, by the active

part he took in the famous fight against the Tweed ring.

Being a man possessed of liberal culture, and interested in all matters of education, he was made inspector of public schools in 1872. This office would scarcely satisfy the ambition of such a man as Mr. Whitney, and he naturally looked for greater distinction in the political arena. He ran as a candidate for district attorney under the auspices of the reformed Democracy and was defeated. This, however, only increased his determination to succeed, and we soon find him appearing again as a candidate for office.

He was active in the campaign of 1875, and during this year was appointed Corporation Counsel in New York. It has been said with truth that Mr. Whitney, during his term of office, saved New York City millions of dollars by his wise opposition to various claims brought by the political sharks, who attempted to make raids upon the city treasury.

With the election of Mr. Cleveland to the Presidency, Mr. Whitney received a sudden elevation by being selected as one of the members of the Cabinet. He was made Secretary of the Navy, and such vigor, discrimination, energy and enterprise did he put into his office that he attracted favorable comment throughout the country from all political parties. To him is due, to a large

extent, the creation of an American Navy. By his tact and ability, by his watchfulness over the public treasury, and by the administration of his office with the same efficiency and economy that he would have given to his own private concerns, he set up a standard in the public service which has been pointed to with pride.

Having returned to the practice of his profession, he has not ceased to exhibit great interest in public affairs, and it may justly be said that there is no position in the gift of his party which they would not be willing to confer upon him if only his acceptance could be gained.

He is a shining example of those noble qualities which, in alliance with great wealth, make for the welfare of the nation.

## REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D.

THE late Reverend Howard Crosby, D.D., was for many years President of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, a large and influential organization in the city of New York. Upon the death of Dr. Crosby, it was conceded that it would be difficult to find a person possessing the peculiar qualifications necessary for the position he had held with such distinguished ability and efficiency. Dr. Parkhurst had been favorably known as a member of the organization, was noted for intellectual ability and zeal in the work of reform,

and the choice of the society placed him at its head.

It became evident immediately that a man of great courage, political insight, enthusiasm in carrying out his objects, and able to command the co-operation of the most influential men in New York, was now fully identified with the great reform movements contemplated by the society. His strong personality was immediately felt. For several years he has been one of the most noted figures in New York, applauded by some, and execrated by others.

Dr. Parkhurst was born in Framingham, Mass., April 17, 1842. He came from a vigorous stock, containing a pretty strong infusion of old Puritan element. Thoughtful and studious in his boyhood, he marked himself out for the career of a professional man, and having become an earnest and devout adherent of the Christian faith, his family and friends naturally set him aside for the work of the ministry.

Accordingly he prepared for college and graduated from Amherst in 1866. He did not consider that his education would be complete if confined within narrow limits of thought, or favored with only meagre advantages. He studied theology at Halle, Germany, in 1869, and at Leipsic in 1872 and 1873, during the intervals of which studies he was principal of the High School in Amherst,



and professor of Williston Seminary at Easthampton, Mass. Thus it seems that he was in no excessive hurry to enter upon his life-work, being occupied with laying broad and deep foundations upon which to rear a superstructure of strength and commanding proportions.

From 1874 to 1880, he was pastor of the Congregational Church at Lennox, Mass., where he became widely known for his eminent pulpit ability. His congregation, especially during the summer months, contained many persons of culture, who enjoyed his keen, intellectual discourses and looked upon him as one of the rising men in the ministry. Upon the death of Rev. Dr. Adams, who had long been the pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, and who was a man of peculiar gifts, the church sought far and near for a suitable successor. Not being very successful in the attempt, attention was turned toward Dr. Parkhurst, who was chosen as pastor in 1880.

Since this period he has occupied one of the most influential positions in New York. The church has been largely attended, the aggregation of wealth is great, the culture and refinement of the congregation are conspicuous, merchants and professional men are found there in large numbers, and added to large benevolent contributions is the missionary work, in which many of the members take a special personal interest.

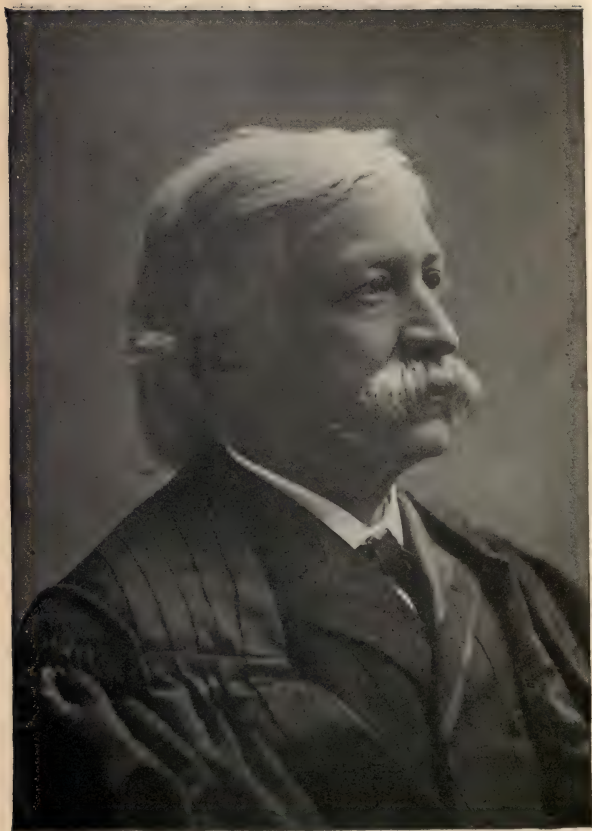
In 1893 Dr. Parkhurst became prominent through his efforts to make the Society for the Prevention of Crime true to its name. He saw no reason why a society, organized for a special purpose, confessedly a good one, should not be active and accomplish something for the welfare of the city. He had no fear of those petty criticisms aimed at ministers who take some interest in public affairs. Dr. Parkhurst considered that his profession had not only the right to promote all true reform, but, in fact, was bound to do it. Those who were disturbed in their nefarious business were the ones who were so anxious that he should keep to what they called his legitimate work.

He felt that his position would be stronger and his influence more widely felt if he could speak of the gigantic evils in New York from personal observation. He wanted the facts that did not come by hearsay. Vague insinuations, statements that could easily be doubted and opinions based upon guesses were not the ammunition with which to load his guns, trained against the enemy. He wanted facts, and such only as came within the sphere of his personal knowledge.

It cannot be doubted that Dr. Parkhurst went about his work in the right way. Convinced himself from his own observation, he was able to convince others. In company with judicious friends he stepped into the haunts of vice, some of them



ARTHUR P. GORMAN.



MELVILLE W. FULLER.



JERRY SIMPSON



BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN

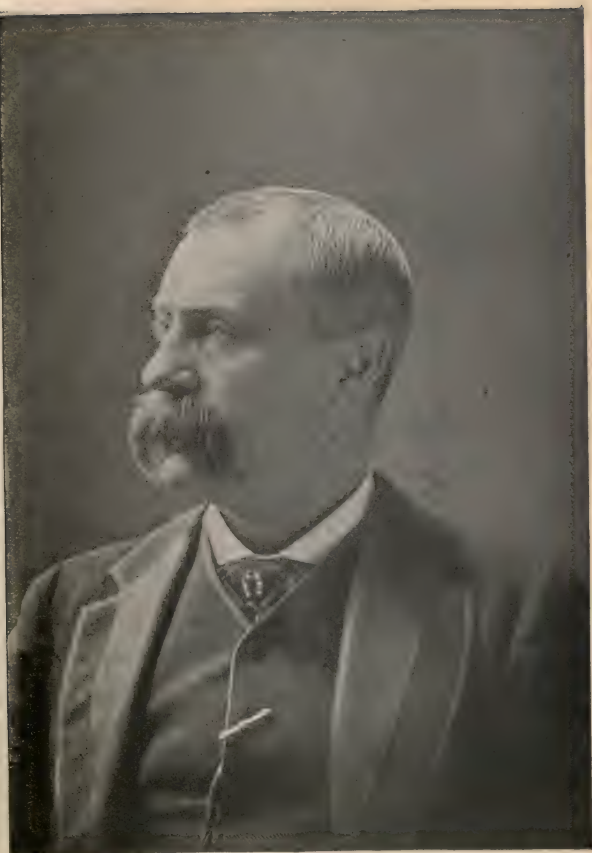




NELSON W. ALDRICH



WILLIAM E. RUSSELL



JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN



UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

almost under the shadow of his own church, and others of palatial gorgeousness located in some of the most respectable and aristocratic quarters of the city. Each new step in the investigation convinced him of the enormity of the evils on every side and of the connivance of city officials in allowing them to exist. His blood was stirred, and he came forth like a prophet of old to denounce the wickedness that cursed the city.

When he began his crusade he was fully armed and equipped with the facts he had gathered. Even with these a smaller man would have made little or no impression, but embodied in him were intellectual power, commanding force of speech, a position in the pulpit second to that of none, a mighty array of influential men and ample resources for the great struggle. The downfall of the corrupt political organization that ruled the city was assured. The rotten fabric trembled to its base under the strokes of the sturdy foe, who had decreed its overthrow.

It is said that in college Dr. Parkhurst's professor of rhetoric criticized his style of writing very severely, but there are few public men who can put so much into a single sentence. His thoughts are at once bold and striking, and his style is pre-eminently concise and original. He has contributed to various magazines and has published several volumes, including "The Forms of the Latin

Verb, Illustrated by Sanskrit," "The Blind Man's Creed, and other Sermons," and "Pattern in the Mount, and other Sermons."

In person Dr. Parkhurst is of medium size, compactly built and a fair specimen of muscular Christianity. His great courage, persistence and untiring energy have made him the most successful political leader of the day, and given him a wide and enviable fame.

Nor has his influence been confined to New York City alone, but other cities throughout the country have patterned by the movement he has inaugurated, and have taken active steps for the investigation of municipal evils and misrule. He addressed large audiences in a number of towns, presenting the plan of reform of which he is the acknowledged chief exponent, and thus awakened public interest which resulted in organized effort.

Dr. Parkhurst's career teaches especially the lesson of strong and persistent courage and endeavor in the face of opposition. The consciousness of being in the right always arms a man with aggressive weapons, and keeps him firm and patient, even though robbed for the moment of success. That so much should have been accomplished in the face of opposition so great and even venomous, is of itself a grand tribute to this eminent divine and leader. He has "wrested victory from the jaws of defeat."



**ROBERT E. PATTISON.**

**R**OBERT EMORY PATTISON, late Governor of Pennsylvania, was born at Quantico, Md., December 8th, 1850. His father, Robert Henry Pattison, a native of Maryland, was born Jan. 22nd, 1824; graduated from Dickinson College in 1843; entered the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1846; filled a number of prominent appointments in Philadelphia and elsewhere; was a Presiding Elder from 1869 to 1872; received the degree of D. D., from Dickinson in 1867; was for several years chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Pennsylvania; and at his death in Philadelphia, February 14, 1875, was one of the ablest and most popular ministers of his church. His mother, Catherine P. Woolford, was a grand-daughter of Col. Thomas Woolford, of the Maryland line in the Revolution. When Robert was six years old, his father was appointed to Asbury church, Philadelphia. He obtained his education in the public schools of that city, and was graduated from the Central High School, delivering the valedictory address.

In 1869, on the recommendation of Prof. Riche, of the high school, he entered the law office of Lewis C. Cassidy, then one of the most brilliant

advocates of the Philadelphia bar, and was admitted to practice in 1872. He had good prospect of success as a lawyer, but his career was destined to be political rather than legal.

In 1877 he was named as a candidate of the Democratic party for Auditor-General of Pennsylvania, and on first ballot in the convention stood next to William P. Schell, who was nominated and elected. A few months later, at the suggestion of Mr. Cassidy, he was the Democratic nominee for City Controller of Philadelphia. This department, like others in the city government at the time, was badly managed, and if he should be elected he would have a task of reform before him that needed a good deal of experience and a very level head. The people were ripe for revolt, and he was elected Controller by a majority of 2,000, although the Republican candidates on the State ticket carried the city by 6,000 majority.

Mr. Pattison entered upon his duties January 1, 1878, and recognizing the fact that he had been elected to reform the office and its methods, he set about his work with a determination to honestly administer its affairs. He found the credit of the city impaired; its paper at a discount in the money market—but by adopting a funding plan, order was brought out of chaos; and such was the appreciation of his services by the people that at the expiration of his three-years term, he was re-

elected by a majority of 13,593 over his contestant, one of the most esteemed citizens and successful merchants of Philadelphia. This was not a triumph of party, but one due to the personal and exceptional ability with which Mr. Pattison had discharged his office, for it was at a time when the Republican candidate for President carried the city by over 20,000 majority.

This popularity placed him in 1882 as an available candidate for Governor. After a close and vigorous contest in the State convention he was nominated, and in November of that year was elected by a plurality of 40,202 over his Republican opponent, Gen. Jas. A. Beaver, although for thirty years previously his party had been in a minority in the State. This result was due more to his vigorous and independent personality and to his successful administration of the financial affairs of the metropolis, than to the dissensions in the Republican ranks at that particular time.

During his administration, the finances of the State were economically managed and the State debt steadily reduced. Although hampered at every step by the legislative branch of the government, which was in the control of his political opponents, he was patient and persevering, setting his face against extravagant appropriations, and holding the corporations of the State to a strict obedience

to the Constitution and the laws. His success was a phenomenal one.

Under the Constitution of Pennsylvania the Governor cannot succeed himself, so that at the end of his term, January 18, 1887, he retired from office. A leading opposition newspaper at that time gave this testimony:

“Gov. Pattison retires from office with the encomiums of political friends and foes, with the ‘well dones’ of the people ringing in his ears to cheer his heart. He has been a good Governor. He made that sort of a ruler that the people like. He was bold and fearless, and he was not afraid to do and say what he thought was right. Even his bitterest enemies in his own party were forced to admire the man who rejected unwise counsel and followed it to the line. The people admire a man of brains, and they are quick to recognize an honest official. Gov. Pattison fills the measure of these qualifications. He will be heard from in the future.”

In the light of subsequent events the last sentence seems almost prophetic. Upon returning to private life he resumed the practice of law in Philadelphia. Three months later he was elected President of the Chestnut Street National Bank. He had previously declined the Auditorship of the Treasury tendered him by President Cleveland, but afterwards accepted an appointment as Pacific

Railroad Commissioner, and was elected President of that commission. His report on the relations of that corporation to the government is one of the ablest and most valuable papers in the financial history of the land-aided roads and on the existing status of their debt to the government. On the completion of his work as head of the Commission he returned to Philadelphia and devoted his attention to the bank.

He was a lay delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1884 and 1888; in 1890 fraternal delegate to the General Conference of the M. E. Church South, and in 1891, a delegate to the Methodist Ecumenical Council, held in Washington, D. C. In 1884, Dickinson College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1890, owing to the errors of the Republican party, the Democracy seized the golden opportunity and again nominated Mr. Pattison to the Executive office. His campaign was a vigorous and aggressive one, and his speeches were masterly presentations of the real issues before the people.

For a second time he carried Pennsylvania on a platform of reform, being elected by a majority of 16,554, although the Republican candidates for Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of Internal Affairs were elected by majorities above 20,000. His victory gave him a position of national impor-

tance. He was inaugurated January 20, 1891, for the term of four years.

Upon assuming the functions of office for a second time he laid special stress upon the four important problems confronting the people: "First: Constitutional Enforcement; second, the Purification of Elections involving Ballot Reform, Personal Registration, and the Prevention of the Misuse of Money in Politics; third, Taxation; fourth, Municipal Government." With these aims in view, and with the knowledge that Governor Pattison's performance in the Executive chair has heretofore made his administration an enviable one, there can be little doubt that whether the measures recommended by him be adopted during his term of office, they will eventually be carried out by his successors of the same or opposing political party.



# HON. CHARLES E. BENTLEY:

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Nominee of the National Party for the Presidency.

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THE National Party nominee for President, Charles Eugene Bentley, was born at Warner's, Onondaga County, New York, April 30, 1841. Mr. Bentley is the eldest of a family of six children, and is the only surviving one. The paternal grandparents were from Rhode Island, sturdy New England stock. Early in the century they removed to the then unexplored West of Central New York, coming in 1809 to the pioneer settlement at Warner's, and carving out of the primeval forest the farm of one hundred acres which for eighty-seven years has been occupied and owned by the Bentley family.

In the War of 1812, with Great Britain, the grandfather was enlisted for service as an American soldier, and was assigned for duty at Sackett's Harbor.

As a contrast to the nomadic habits that pertain to the West, it is an interesting fact that Mr. Bentley's father, himself and his oldest child were all born on the old farm. Mr. Bentley's father

died in 1877, but the mother, now nearly seventy-eight years old, still survives, living at the old home. Mr. Bentley's parents were mentally and physically well endowed. While they had but few opportunities for schooling in those early times, when the old English Reader was sole text book, they nevertheless obtained a sound and practical education, becoming well informed upon all the questions of the day. They had decided literary taste, and read with discriminating care history, biography and poetry. Both loved politics as the science of government, and were ardent advocates of the principles of the Whig and Republican parties. Mr. Bentley has often said that he could not escape the marked conditions of a political heredity, that must environ one born at the close of the never-to-be-forgotten Harrison and Tyler campaign of 1840.

He has, however, cause for thankfulness, that while this law of heredity brings him into vital sympathy of the ballot-box sort with social and political reforms, heredity may be so modified by intelligent citizenship that its subjects never climb into a party band wagon that is run for monopoly, Wall Street, partial suffrage and the saloon. Mr. Bentley's education was obtained in the schools of the Empire State, and in Seminary courses at Elbridge and Cazenovia, N. Y. He lived on the home farm until he reached manhood's estate and

established a home of his own. He was married in 1863, to Persis Freeman, of Baldwinsville, N. Y., and in 1866 removed permanently to the West, locating in Clinton, Iowa, where he engaged in active business life. During the twelve years' residence in that city Mr. Bentley was almost constantly in public service, holding for a period of years positions as City Clerk and Treasurer, and Secretary of the Board of Education, until his removal to Nebraska in 1878. Although politically allied during these years to the Republican Party, he cherished an inborn hatred to the drink traffic and the rule of monopolistic wealth. This led him at times to open rebellion against the party policy which was annually bidding for both the church and saloon vote.

On removing to Nebraska Mr. Bentley returned to the farm, settling on a quarter of raw prairie at Surprise, in Butler County, and located about fifty miles from the State Capital. Here the family remained for nearly thirteen years. The school life of the children was so arranged that study and farm work were judiciously blended. Every member of the family contributed directly to the sum of the labor and toil required for developing the farm into one of the finest and most productive in the State. More than this, they contributed to the moral and social uplift of the community in the organization of churches, temperance and literary

societies, Chautauqua Circles and one of the most influential W. C. T. U. organizations in the State.

Mr. Bentley and his wife are, and have been for ten years, active white ribboners. Probably no other man in the State has been so often called upon to speak in public addresses for the Union. Mrs. Bentley is the leader of the local union known as the East Lincoln, and she has also the superintendency in district and State of the Evangelistic and Unfermented Wine Departments.

In 1890 Mr. Bentley removed to Lincoln that the family might avail themselves of the superior educational advantages of the capital city. The two eldest sons are graduates of the State University, the older having taken his degree of M. A., and the second one securing in competitive work a scholarship in Philosophy at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. The younger daughters and son are taking preparatory courses in the graded and High Schools. The eldest daughter, Lucy, is her father's helper in his large and increasing correspondence. She is an enthusiastic student and worker in National party politics, a ready writer, and for some time edited a column of news for the party State paper.

In 1884, Mr. Bentley failed to "cordially sympathize" any longer with the Republican Party and came out for St. John and the Prohibition Party. As was natural for a man of his ability,

he was chosen chairman of the first Prohibition Party Convention ever held in Nebraska, that of 1884, a place which he has often filled since with conspicuous ability and fairness.

His active work as a reformer began at this time, and he has been unceasing in his efforts for the upbuilding of the Prohibition Party. He says, "Since becoming a party adherent in 1884 I have never voted for any person for any office who was not a recognized party Prohibitionist."

Mr. Bentley has often been a candidate upon the Prohibition ticket, and has the unbroken record of having always led his ticket in the number of votes received. He has been nominated twice for the State legislature, once for Congress and once for the United States Senate.

In 1892, when a candidate for governor, he polled 1,333 votes more than General Bidwell received for President at the same election; and in 1894, when nominated as popular choice for United States Senator to head the Prohibition ticket and make the race against Hon. W. J. Bryan, the free silver Democrat, Mr. Bentley received 25,591 votes at the general election. This indicates the measure of his popularity among his fellow-citizens.

In 1890 he was chosen chairman of the State Prohibition Committee, to manage the famous constitutional amendment campaign of that year. In

this campaign \$23,000.00 were disbursed directly by the state committee, and over three thousand speeches made for constitutional prohibition under Mr. Bentley's direction.

The executive ability displayed was so marked that he has been retained as chairman ever since, except in 1892, when, in response to an overwhelming popular demand, he made the race for governor.

In 1892 Mr. Bentley was elected a member of the National Prohibition Committee. At the State Convention of 1895 a stirring resolution was unanimously adopted indorsing Mr. Bentley for presidential honors, and at the February Convention of 1896 this indorsement was even more emphatically repeated, and the delegation instructed accordingly. In the face of this call from his friends, Mr. Bentley reluctantly consented to have his name go before the new party Convention.

He has been actively instrumental in his own State in having the party take advanced position on all economic questions. The Nebraska platform has always been notably broad, and has in other States served as a model in setting forth in clear and direct statement the distinctive principles of the party. It is in fact, in method and phraseology, the National party platform, and could be re-affirmed without change as the principles of that party in State and nation.



Some months ago, as a member of the National Committee of the Prohibition Party, Mr. Bentley sent out to each member of that committee a strong protest against the efforts of Mr. Dickie and others in minimizing or ignoring the position of the party on all its platform declarations except that of saloon suppression, and urged the committee to unite in this protest against a policy so suicidal and unwarranted. That he correctly interpreted the narrow policy if carried out as bringing sure dismemberment to the party, the Pittsburg Convention furnishes abundant proof.

Mr. Bentley is and has been a sturdy and determined advocate of woman suffrage. No party can hold him in political leading that in open opposition or silent, cowardly evasion denies to woman the right of the ballot. Mr. Bentley retains at Surprise the pastoral charge of the Baptist Church, over which he has presided since he personally led in its organization in 1880. He also preaches as supply for the church at Friend, Neb. The doors of his church have always been opened for every righteous reform. His plain, uncompromising declarations of truth, as he preaches political righteousness and denounces parties that have made a "Covenant with Death," are in refreshing contrast to the timid, time-serving utterances of the average license party preacher.

In personal appearance Mr. Bentley is a man of

more than average attractions, gifted with splendid physique, a genial manner, forcefulness of expression and those rare gifts of oratory which come from a direct statement of the truth. He is a leader by virtue of his natural endowments, coupled with the experience which he has had all these years.

## HON. JAMES H. SOUTHGATE:

Nominee of the National Party for the Vice-Presidency.

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Mr. Southgate was born in Norfolk, Va., the 12th of July, 1859, moved to North Carolina in 1861, and has lived in Franklin, Iredell, Orange and Durham Counties in that State, in the last mentioned, twenty years. He was prepared for College by Major D. H. Hamilton, of Hillsboro, and the Horner and Graves Military Academy of the same place. He was also a student at the University of North Carolina during the years 1876-79 inclusive, and on leaving College studied the banking business and opened the first set of banking books ever opened in Durham.

In 1882 he went into partnership with his father, James Southgate, in the general insurance business. He was married in that year to Kate Shepard, oldest daughter of B. and M. H. Fuller. Mrs. Southgate died in February, 1893. Two children survive her.

Mr. Southgate, an ex-President of the Y. M. C. A. Convention of North Carolina, is now a member of its State Executive Committee, and has been for a number of years. He was Secretary of the first State Convention ever held in the interest of that order in North Carolina, in the year 1877; has been a member of the Executive Committee of the State Sunday-school As-



JAMES H. SOUTHGATE.

sociation for nearly ten years, and is now the Treasurer of that body, and a trustee and member of the Executive Board of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., President of the Educator Publishing Company, and Director in the Morehead Banking Company.

He has been a member of the State Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party for nearly a decade, and was elected Chairman of the State Executive Committee of that party in 1892; was Chairman of the North Carolina delegation to the Prohibition Convention in Cincinnati, in 1892, and

is at present the General Agent for North Carolina for the American Union Life Insurance Company of New York.

Mr. Southgate is an active business man, at the same time taking a profound interest in the political questions of the day. As an earnest advocate of Prohibition, he has long been one of the chief pillars of that cause in the South, and has done much by his speeches and example to aid the party that has now so signally honored him.

### Platform of the National Party.

At Pittsburg, May 29th, 1896, the Convention of the Prohibition Party was divided on several questions which were not immediately connected with Prohibition. A large number of the delegates went out of the Convention, organized a new party and adopted the following Platform :

The National party, recognizing God as the author of all just power in government, presents the following declaration of principles, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation when given the power to do so :

1. The suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation, exportation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating, or compromising with this traffic, whether such plans be called local option, taxation, license or public

control. The sale of liquors for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by the State, without profit and with such regulations as will prevent fraud or evasion.

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

3. All money should be issued by the general government only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability and integrity of the Nation. It should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of sufficient volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating our outstanding coin obligations, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation.

4. Land is the common heritage of the people and should be preserved from monopoly and speculation. All unearned grants of land, subject to forfeiture, should be reclaimed by the government and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

5. Railroads, telegraphs and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the Government, giving to the people the benefit of service at actual cost.

6. The national Constitution should be so amended as to allow the national revenues to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

7. The contract convict-labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

8. All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

9. The American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

10. The president, vice-president and United States senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

11. Ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States army and navy, their widows and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, graded on disability and term of service, not merely as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

12. Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to



vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

13. The initiative and referendum, and proportional representation should be adopted.

14. Having herein presented our principles and purposes, we invite the co-operation and support of all citizens who are with us substantially agreed.

# POLITICAL PARTIES.

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## Abolitionists.

During the Revolution, and when the Constitution was made, various societies were formed for the *abolition* of slavery, the first originating in Philadelphia, April 14, 1775, with Benjamin Franklin as president. A second society with the same purpose in view, formed in New York, January 25, 1785, with John Jay as president (later succeeded by Alexander Hamilton). These were the beginnings of many throughout the States, their meetings, publications and petitions being treated respectfully until the development of cotton planting in the early part of the nineteenth century raised the price of slaves, when the struggle between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery interests began. The contest out of which the term *Abolition* grew dates with William Lloyd Garrison's arraignment of slave-holders as criminals in 1829, he two years later publishing "The Liberator." This was afterward followed by the formation in Boston of the *New England Anti-Slavery Society*, for the purpose of promoting the cause of emanci-

pation, and with a similar object at Philadelphia, the creation of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

The *Abolitionists* appeared in 1840, as a distinctive party, calling themselves the *Liberty Party*, whose advocacy finally culminated in the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. In February, 1866, slavery was abolished forever from the territory of the United States, by act of Congress.

The Abolition, Whig and Federal were parties of liberal ideas and aggressiveness; when their mission was accomplished, each disappeared until called into life to meet a new crisis.

### American.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1853 occasioned a split in the Whigs in 1854, who allied with the *Know-Nothings* and became the *American Party*. In 1860 it took the place of the Whigs in the South.

In convention at Philadelphia, September 16-17, 1887, the name again assumed as a party politic, founded on "love for our country and its institutions, believing that America should be governed by Americans." (See *Know-Nothings*.)

### Anti-Federalists.

One of the first two political parties under the present Constitution, the outcome of the *Particularists*. They were the opposers of the Constitu-

tion of the United States, which was then spoken of as the *Federal Constitution*.

The Anti-Federalists were unwilling to take certain great powers from the States and give them to the General Government, were jealous of the power of Congress, too much national power, lest a monarchy should be established, and were strong adherents to rights of State and local self-government.

In 1791 withdrew against the Constitution, turning against financial measures of the Federalists toward funding of State debts. In 1796 became the *Republican Party*, branching into Jeffersonian Republicanism, afterward becoming the *Democrat*. (See Republican and Democrat.)

### Anti-Monopoly.

Formed May 14, 1884, at Chicago, under the title of *The Anti-Monopoly Organization of the United States*, demanding economical government, enactment and enforcement of equitable laws, including an Inter-state Commerce Law (a law enacted in 1887), establishing Labor Bureaus, providing Industrial Arbitration, direct vote for Senators, graduated income tax, payment of the national debt as it matures, and "fostering care" for agriculture; and denouncing the tariff and granting of lands to corporations. Joined issue with the Greenback-Labor Party under the name of the "People's Party."

### Bloody Shirts.

Applied to those Republicans who are continually raising the late war issues; appealing to war sentiments. The term originating from a disguise of the Ku-Klux-Klan, pictured by the Republicans as covered with negro blood.

### Carpet-Baggers.

Applied to Northern Republicans, who it was alleged came South after the war, and by the aid of negro votes were elected to local and State offices. Being so-called *transient* politicians, it was said they brought all their effects in their carpet-bags.

### Democrat.

Anglicized, from the French word *démocrate*, which finds its derivation from two Greek words, *Demos*, the "people," *cratos*, "government," literally, "one who is in favor of government by the people."

The party successor, in name of the *Republican*, descending unbrokenly from *Anti-Federalist*, through the Jeffersonian branch of Republicanism. Its title of *Democrat* being fully assumed as a party name in 1812, at the second election of Madison as President; in fact, as a party it has remained almost intact, both in form and name, from the first Presidential election (1789), being aided by conservatism and a policy of negation.

The adoption of the word *Democrat* traceable to the introduction, in 1793, by Citizen Genet, of France (imitative of the Jacobin Clubs of Paris), of sociable clubs, known as "Democratic Societies;" the first being instituted in Philadelphia, on May 30 of that year.

The party constructed and maintained upon the principle of popular government or popular sovereignty, with an indifference to the subject of slavery as to whether it was voted up or down.

In 1860 it lost a section on squatter sovereignty which took the name of *National Democrats*. In 1872 it endorsed the Liberal Republicans as to the necessity of reform, a change demanded, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest in making no change of men or parties the country obtains no change of measures and no real reform.

### Dough-Faces.

Applied in 1820, from a remark that "they were plastic in the hands of demagogues;" a reference to the action of certain Republicans, who, for the sake of a compromise, voted in favor of striking slavery out of the *Missouri Bill*.

Also used as a nickname; given to Northern favorers and abettors of negro slavery; meaning a politician who is accessible to political influences



and considerations. Likewise given to such Northern members of Congress as manifested especial willingness to fall in with the views and demands of the South on questions involving slavery ; *i. e.*, the Northerner false to the principles of freedom, or the Southerner false to the principles of slavery.

### Federalist.

From the French word *Fédéraliste*, derived from Latin *foedus*, *foederis* ; a covenant, a league.

One of the first two political parties under the new Constitution (1787). It was the outcome of the *strong government Whigs* opposing every preliminary step looking to the abandonment of the Articles of Confederation and the adoption of the *Federal* Constitution, in which it eventually succeeded, thereby creating the *Federal* Government, hence its name. It was the political party which favored the administration of Washington for President.

Through Adams' administration, the Alien and Sedition laws lost to the party the election of 1800. In 1808 it recovered with a strong minority, though bitterly opposing the war policy of the Republicans, on which, as a party, it eventually split, merging into the Whigs. As a party it disappeared with its candidate of 1816, Rufus King.

### Fire-Eaters.

Applied in 1857 to strong anti-slavery politicians of the North. The Southern politician who vehemently denounced the Union also so called.

### Free-Soilers.

Formed in 1848, from disaffected Democrats, advocating Congress should abolish slavery where it constitutionally had the power so to do (intended to apply to the District of Columbia), that it should not interfere with the slave States, but prohibit it in the Territories. It became the nucleus of the modern Republican Party, drawing largely from the Whigs, in 1848, who were opposed to the *Omnibus Bill*. The name of *Free-Soilers* came from the party cry of "free soil, free speech, free labor and freemen."

### Grangers.

A secret society first formed in Washington, in 1867, and known as the *Patrons of Husbandry*; the subordinate lodges were known as *granges*, hence the party name.

The object was co-operative among farmers, in purchasing supplies from first hands, thereby doing away with middle men; and while declared not to be political, in order to serve the interest of certain land ends, it became necessary that individuals representative of their interests should be in Congress, and to serve this purpose the combined

influence of the *Grangers* was secretly brought to bear in voting, so that in time a strong political party was in actual existence, somewhat on the principle of the Know-Nothings.

### G. O. P.

Initial letters of the *Grand Old Party*, a designation of the modern Republican Party.

### Greenback.

Party favoring an unlimited issue of greenbacks (paper money), or an issue based upon the resources of the country, toward easing the rigors of a money panic; they opposed the resumption of specie payments according to act passed in January, 1875. In 1884 they amalgamated with the labor element under the name of *National Labor and Greenback Party*, as against Democrats. Also called *Inflationists*, *Soft-Money Men*, and *Fiatists*.

### Know-Nothings.

Bartlett, in his *Americanisms*, notes: "The *Know-Nothing* Party was first formed by a person of some notoriety in New York, who called himself 'Ned Buntline' (Edward Z. C. Judson). Ned was once a midshipman in the United States Navy, but left the service, and commenced the business of Americanism on a large scale, by founding a secret political order, of so exclusive a character that none were to be admitted as members whose grandfathers were not natives of the

country. It is a difficult matter in a country like the United States where free inquiry is so common to keep anything secret; and so Ned instructed his proselytes and acolytes to reply to all questions in respect to the movements of the new party, 'I don't know.' So that they were at first called *Don't-Knows* and then *Know-Nothings*, by outsiders, who knew nothing further of them than that they invariably replied to all questions, 'I don't know.'"

The platform was:

1. Repeal of all naturalization laws.
2. None but native Americans for office.
3. A pure American common-school system.
4. War to the hilt on Romanism.

### Ku-Klux-Klan, or K. K. K.

A secret society of great political significance in the Southern Central States, formed in 1868 for the intimidation of negro voters in order to defeat the Republicans. They traveled at night, disguised, among the negro sections, not hesitating at various outrages on the race; and before their disbandment by Republican Congressional action in 1872, it is stated they had reached nearly 300,000 in numbers. Their general purpose was similar to the White Liners of Louisiana.

### Labor.

A general name given to *labor* politics; the divisions or factions are *United Labor*, *Union*

*Labor, Progressive Labor, and the Anti-Poverty Society.* All divided on the interpretation of the term, "the land for the people," and a direct maintenance and protection of the laborer.

### Loco-foco.

A division arose in the Democratic Party (Oct. 29, 1835) in consequence of the nomination of Gideon Lee as the Democratic candidate for Congress, by the committee chosen for that purpose. The nomination, as customary, had to be confirmed at a general meeting of Democrats, called for October 29, 1835, at Tammany Hall, New York City. Lee's friends, anticipating opposition, assembled in large numbers in order to support him. The selection of chairman was the first question that arose, and it tested the strength of the divisions. The Tammany men (friends of Mr. Lee) supported Mr. Varion, while the Anti Monopolists did similar office for Mr. Curtis; each side claimed their party as the duly elected presiding officer, whereupon great confusion ensued, and during the excitement the lights were extinguished.

The *Equal Rights* (Anti-Monopolists) Party, having witnessed similar occurrences, or having received some intimations that such would be the course of their opponents, had previously provided themselves with *Loco-foco* matches and candles,

and the room was re-lighted in a moment. The meeting continued, and the Equal Rights section accomplished their object.

The "Courier and Enquirer" newspaper dubbed the Anti-Monopolists who used the matches, with the name of *Loco-focos*.

### Mugwump.

Imparted in the Presidential campaign of 1884 to the *Independents* or Republican Seceders who favored the Democratic candidate for the reason that a change in administration was necessary, as twenty-four years was long enough for a party to be in power; too long a life-engrafted corruption.

The meaning of the word had no connection with its political application or use, being taken up in the nature of a by-word. It was first used as meaning a *Seceder*, by Gov. Waller, of Connecticut, and by one of the New York dailies introduced into the political literature of the time.

*Mugwump* is an Indian word. occurring in Eliot's Indian Bible, where it is used as an equivalent of "duke," as this latter word occurs in Genesis, chapter xxxvi.

### National.

A split from the Prohibition Party in 1896. In addition to Prohibition it advocates the free coinage of silver, woman suffrage, and the abolition of all trusts and monopolies.



### National Prohibition.

Out of the Independent Order of Good Templars, instituted in 1851 on the Temperance question, emanated a faction with political tendencies, that favored and elected Neal Dow as Mayor of Portland, Me., 1853, and in 1854, as the *Temperance Party* elected Myron Clark as Governor of New York. In 1868 Illinois and Michigan had taken up the matter on local issues, and formed Temperance and Prohibition political parties.

The first move toward a National Party in the interest of Temperance was in May 25, 1869, during a session of the Right Working Grand Lodge, I. O. G. T., at Oswego, N. Y., when a meeting was held to "favor independent action for the promotion of the temperance cause," resulting in a call for a National Convention to organize a National Prohibition Party; the meeting was ultimately held at Chicago, September 1, 1869.

The first Temperance candidate for the Presidency on a National Ticket was James Black, nominated in convention held at Columbus, O., February 22, 1872. The platform declaration of principles claimed the traffic in intoxicating beverages a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong, and suppression only effective when legal prohibition is both State and National. That the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic is declared

to be a principle good in law and feasible in practice.

### Native American.

The Federalists being *anti-alien*, the Democrats naturally sought alliance with aliens, as foreigners with the five-year naturalization limit, centering in New York, filled the New York division of Democracy to the exclusion of native Federalism, in the control of the city government, and to meet this condition of affairs the first attempt at a Native American organization was made. It began in 1835, and with the mayoralty election of 1837 failed, was renewed in 1844, with the vital principle of *American*, and was successful in electing its mayor of New York, its boom being incident to the action of Bishop Hughes in a speech in Carroll Hall, 1843, in which he advocated a distinct organization, as a party, of the Irish voters of New York. This was the first attempt to organize foreign citizens for political purposes. The party advocated the extension of the naturalization laws to twenty-one years, which with other extreme measures resulted in its defeat in 1845, through the strong opposition of Democrats and the Irish and Roman Catholic elements.

### People's.

Originated in New York in 1823, as the Democratic supporters of Mr. Crawford and the *Albany*

*Regency*, advocating that electors should be chosen by the people and not by the Legislature, proclaiming they would favor only such candidate as would avow himself in favor of giving the people the right of appointing presidential electors. (See Anti-Monopoly.)

### Personal Liberty.

Originated in New York, in 1887, as a pro-liquor combination, alleging sumptuary laws having nowhere proved effectual in extirpating intemperance nor in reducing immorality or vice, but invariably stirred up ill-feeling, that under pretence of serving religion and morality, of aiding in the prevention of crime, and diminishing the causes of pauperism, attempts are multiplying to encroach upon the rights of person and property guaranteed, laws having been passed detrimentally affecting time-honored customs and individual rights and privileges. "That as a political body they use all honorable means to promote the cause of civil and religious liberty by insisting upon the repeal of the obnoxious portions of the excise laws until that result be attained."

### Populists.

(See Anti-Monopoly.)

### Progressive Labor.

The radical, or socialistic, element that withdrew from the United Labor Party, at Syracuse, N. Y.,

August 19, 1886; their platform notes that the soil of every country is the social and common inheritance of the people; that labor produces all wealth, which includes the instruments through which alone the forces of nature become accessible, therefore all should have free access to land, and to the instruments of production without tribute to landlords and monopolists. That to the immediate relief of the working-class: eight hours a day's work, no child labor, no female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality, an extension of the common-school system, equal pay to both sexes, payment of wages weekly, first lien for workmen's wages, enactment of juster laws for liability of employer to employé, abolish contract system in prisons and on public works, and tenement-house manufacturing. Have thorough sanitary inspection to secure health of laborers, a non-importation of labor, to force existing beneficial labor laws, equal sex-citizenship and suffrage, repeal blue laws interfering with interests of labor, and all conspiracy tramp laws, class legislation and privileges; not allow Pinkertons; to have a public ownership in industries involving public franchises or performance of public functions; a direct issue of money, not through the banks; a special tax on unimproved land sufficiently high to compel its surrender to the community; tax incomes over \$2,000 per annum graduated to be most heavy on

monopolists; demand home rule, and many other "progressive" planks of interest to the labor class.

### Prohibition.

(See National Prohibition.)

### Republicans.

From the French *républicain*, from the Latin, *respublica*, *res*, "an affair," *publicus*, *publica*, "of or pertaining to the people, common to all."

The outcome of the Anti-Federalists, 1796. When the Bill of Rights to recognize the equality of all men, and their rights "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," has been incorporated in and attached to the Constitution as Amendments, the Anti-Federalists amalgamated with a section of the Federalists, and at the suggestion of the party leader, Jefferson, it became known as the *Republican* Party, Jefferson promulgating this name, as he thought the name *Anti-Federalist* was inappropriate, the original cause of the name having become lost, as the party principles were more directly the opposers of Federal party measures.

The name Republican suggested to Jefferson through his being an ardent, enthusiastic friend of the French Revolution and its Republican principles, and maintained until 1826, when as representing the name of a political party disappeared into *Democrat*.

As a party name *Republican* re-appeared in 1855,

they interpreting its application as meaning "nationality." The Republicans have twice been a strong party politic; the original looked upon the Union as a democracy, persons, not States; the modern Republicans contemplated the Union as a Republic of itself, believing in its existence as a nation-republic.

In 1859, the modern adaptation was called into existence solely to resist the encroachments of slavery upon the free territory of the Union and the free States, that there should be an entire prohibition of the "twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery," that white slavery must remain and be protected where it was. In the Republican platform the attempt of John Brown was denounced as "lawless and unjustifiable," denying the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature or of any individuals to "give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States," affirming the principles of the Constitution of the United States as essential to the preservation of Republican institutions, and that the rights of the States should be held inviolate, and especially that "the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends."

In 1876, it demanded a vigorous Southern policy



and arraigned their opponents (Democrats) as seeking to perpetuate sectional strife. In connection with the name *Republican* as a great party name, there occurs a coincidence worthy of note, the "Republican Supremacy" of each party extended over the space of twenty-four years—1801 to 1825, and 1861 to 1885.

### Tammany.

A society, *Tammany Society*, otherwise called the *Columbian Order* from 1789, composed of New York Democrats; the order originally formed by William Mooney of New York, an upholsterer, during the administration of Washington, in 1789, with the probable purpose of antagonism to the *Cincinnati Society*, which had an aristocratical tendency. Tammany originally having in view the preservation of democratic institutions, from contamination by the adoption of any aristocratic principles.

The name *Tammany* or *St. Tammany* adapted from the name of an Indian chief, *Tammenund*, tradition alleging "his attachment to liberty was greater than his love of life." The belief is, that the name was one of fancy in its selection, having no significant meaning.

## THE TWO TARIFF BILLS:

Known as the McKinley and the Wilson Bills.

THE following table shows the rates fixed by the old and new tariffs, respectively, on the most important articles affected by each. (No notice is taken in this table of those articles on which the duties are the same in both tariffs.) It will be seen that the reductions on manufactured woollens, china and glassware are important. The duty on tin plates is reduced from 2 1-5 to 1 1-5 cents a pound; that on linseed oil from 32 to 20 cents a gallon, and on castor oil from 80 to 35 cents. These are instances of large reductions; but the duties on most of the miscellaneous articles have been considerably cut down.

Estimating the average ad valorem rate on these articles under the McKinley act at 50 per cent., it would probably be fair to state that the Senate bill reduces that average to 37½ per cent. It should be remembered, however, in attempting any comparison of the two tariffs, that estimates of ad valorem, based on specific rates, are subject to error because of fluctuations in prices.

Among the important additions to the free list, besides wool and lumber, are binding twine, paintings statuary, fresh fish, jute bagging and burlaps.

## Schedule A.—Chemicals, Oils and Paints.

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Acetic Acid, per lb.....	1½c.	20 p.c.
Alumina, alum, alum cake, per lb.....	6-10c.	4-10c.
Blacking of all kinds.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.
Refined Borax, per lb.....	5c.	2c.
Camphor, refined, per lb.....	4c.	10 p.c.
Chalk, prepared, precipitated, French and red, per lb.....	1c.	20 p.c.
All coal tar colors or dyes.....	35 p.c.	25 p.c.
Collodion, per lb.....	50c.	40c.
Extracts and decoctions of logwood and other dye woods, extract of sumac, per lb.....	7c.	10 p.c.
Gelatine, glue, isinglass or fish glue, worth not over 7c. per lb., per lb.....	1½c.	25 p.c.
Glycerine, refined, per lb.....	4½c.	3c.
Ink and ink powders, printer's ink.....	30 p.c.	25 p.c.
Sulph. of magnesia or Epsom salts, per lb.....	3-10c.	1-5c.
Castor oil, per gal.....	80c.	35c.
Cod liver oil, per gal.....	15c.	20 p.c.
Cottonseed oil, per gal.....	10c.	20 p.c.
Flaxseed or linseed and poppyseed oil.....	32c.	20c.
Opium, liquid preparations.....	40 p.c.	20 p.c.
Chrome yellow, chrome green, and all other chromium colors, per lb.....	4½c.	3c.
Varnishes.....	35 p.c.	25 p.c.
Whiting and Paris white, dry, per lb.. ..	½c.	¼c.
Artists' water color paints.....	30 p.c.	25 p.c.
White lead, per lb.....	3c.	1½c.
Phosphorus, per lb.....	20c.	15c.
Potash, bichromate and chromate of, per lb.....	3c.	25 p.c.
Potash, hydriodate, iodide and iodate of, per lb...	50c.	25c.
Potash, nitrate of, or saltpetre, refined, per lb.....	1c.	½c.
Potash, prussiate of, red, per lb.....	10c.	25 p.c.
Potash, yellow, prussiate of, per lb.....	5c.	25 p.c.
Toilet preparations and articles of perfumery.....	50 p.c.	40 p.c.
Castile soap, per lb.....	1½c.	20 p.c.
Bicarbonate of soda or supercarbonate of soda or saleratus, per lb.....	1c.	½c.
Hydrate of soda or caustic soda, per lb.....	1c.	½c.
Sal soda or soda crystals, per lb.....	½c.	⅜c.
Sponges.....	20 p.c.	10 p.c.
Sea moss or Iceland moss, crude.....	Free	10 p.c.
Strychnia, or strychnine, and all salts thereof, per oz.....	40c.	30c.
Sulphur, refined, per ton.....	\$8 00	20 p.c.
Tartar, cream of, and patent tartar, per lb.....	6c.	20 p.c.
Tartrate of soda and potassa, or Rochelle salts, per lb.....	3c.	2c.

**B.—Earths, Earthenware and Glassware, Brick and Tile.**

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Brick, glazed, enameled, ornamented or decorated.	45 p.c.	30 p.c.
Tiles, ornamented, glazed, painted, enameled, vitrified or decorated.....	45 p.c.	40 p.c.
Cement.....	20 p.c.	10 p.c.
Lime, per 100 lbs.....	6c.	5c.
Gypsum, calcined, per ton.....	\$1.75	\$1.25
China, clay or kaolin.....	\$3.00	\$2.00
Common yellow and brown earthenware.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.
Plain white china, not ornamented or decorated...	55 p.c.	30 p.c.
China, porcelain and crockery ware, painted, tinted, enameled, or otherwise decorated in any manner.....	60 p.c.	35 p.c.
Glass bottles, holding more than 1 pint, per lb.....	1c.	$\frac{3}{4}$ c.
Fluted, rolled or rough plate glass, not exceeding 16x24 inches square foot, sq. ft.....	1c.	$\frac{3}{4}$ c.
Above that and not exceeding 24x30 inches square, sq. ft.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	1c.
All above that, sq. ft.....	2c.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
Marble of all kinds in block, rough or squared only, cubic foot.....	65c.	50c.
Manufactures of marble.....	50 p.c.	45 p.c.
Manufactures of alabaster and onyx.....	25 p.c.	45 p.c.
Freestone, granite, sandstone, limestone and other building stone, cubic foot.....	11c.	7c.
Freestone, granite, sandstone, limestone and other building stone, hewn, dressed or polished.....	40 p.c.	30 p.c.
Roofing slates.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.

**C.—Metals and Manufactures of.**

Iron in pigs, per ton.....	\$6.00	\$4.00
Structural iron, per lb.....	9-10c.	6-10c.
Steel rails, per lb.....	6-10c.	7-20c.
Wire rods.....	6-10c.	4-10c.
Tin plates, per lb.....	2 1-5c.	1 1-5c.
Manufactures of tin.....	55 p.c.	35 p.c.
Anchors and forgings of iron and steel, for vessels, steam engines and locomotives, per lb.....	1 8-10c.	1 2-10c.
Axles, axle bars, axle blanks or forgings for axles, per lb.....	2c.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
Anvils of iron or steel, per lb.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
Blacksmith's hammers and sledges and crowbars, whether of iron or steel, per lb.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
Castings of malleable iron, per lb.....	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ c.	9-10c.
Cast hollow ware, coated glazed or tinned, per lb.	3c.	2c.
Chains of all kinds made of iron or steel, per lb...	1 6-10c.	30 p.c.
Penknives, pocketknives, or erasers of all kinds, per doz.....	12c. & 50 p.c.	25 p.c.
Valued at more than \$3 per dozen, per doz.....	\$2 & 50 p.c.	50 p.c.

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Razors and razor blades, valued at less than \$4 per doz.....	\$1 & 30 p.c.	45 p.c.
Valued at more than \$4 per dozen, per doz....	\$1.75 & 30 p.c.	45 p.c.
Double-barreled, breech-loading shotguns worth not more than \$6 each, each.....	\$1.50 & 35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Valued at more than \$12 each, each.....	\$6 & 35 p.c.	35 p.c.
Wire nails, per lb.....	2c.	25 p.c.
Needles.....	35 p.c.	25 p.c.
Railway fish plates, per lb .....	1c.	25 p.c.
Hand, buck and all other saws.....	40 p.c.	25 p.c.
Screws, more than two inches in length, per lb.	5c.	3c.
Over one inch and not more than two inches in length, per lb.....	7c.	5c.
Over one-half inch and not more than one inch in length, per lb. ....	10c.	7c.
One-half inch and less in length, per lb.....	14c.	10c.
Umbrella and parasol ribs and stretcher frames	45 p.c.	50 p.c.
Wheels for railway purposes, per lb.....	2½c.	1¼c.
Aluminum in crude form, alloys of any kind, per lb.....	15c.	10c.
Copper in rolled plates, called braziers' copper.	35 p.c.	20 p.c.
Copper, old, taken from the bottom of American vessels, compelled by marine disaster to repair in foreign ports.....	Free.	20 p.c.
Gold and silver bullion.....	30 p.c.	25 p.c.
Gold leaf.....	\$2.00	30 p.c.
Silver leaf.....	75c.	30 p.c.
Lead ore, per lb.....	1½c.	¾c.
Lead, in pigs, per lb.....	2c.	1c.
Mica.....	35 p.c.	20 p.c.
Nickel, per lb.....	10c.	6c.
Pens, metallic, except gold pens, per gross.....	12c.	8c.
Pins, metallic.....	30 p.c.	25 p.c.
Quicksilver, per lb.....	10c.	7c.
Type metal, per lb.....	1½c.	¾c.
New types.....	25 p.c.	15 p.c.
Clocks of metal and wood.....	45 p.c.	25 p.c.
Zinc in blocks or pigs, per lb.....	1¾c.	1c.
In sheets, per lb.....	2½c.	1½c.
Manufactured articles or wares, composed wholly or in part of any metal.....	45 p.c.	35 p.c.

**D.—Wood and Manufactures of.**

Osier or willow, prepared for basketmakers' use	30 p.c.	20 p.c.
Manufactures of osier or willow.....	40 p.c.	25 p.c.
Casks and barrels (empty), sugar-box shooks and packing boxes of wood.....	30 p.c.	20 p.c.

**E.—Sugar.**

Sugar, raw.....	Free	40 p.c.
Sugar, refined, per lb.....	¾c.	¾c. & 40 p.c.

**F.—Tobacco and Manufactures of.**

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Wrapped tobacco, unstemmed, imported in any bale, box, package or in bulk, per lb.....	\$2.00	\$1.50
If stemmed, per lb.....	\$2.75	\$2.25

**G.—Agricultural Products and Provisions.**

Horses worth \$150 and over.....	30 p.c.	20 p.c.
Wheat, flour.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.
Rice, cleaned, per lb.....	2c.	1½c.
Uncleaned rice, per lb.....	1½c.	8–10c.
Butter and substitutes therefor, per lb.....	6c.	4c.
Cheese, per lb.....	6c.	4c.
Milk, preserved or condensed, including weight of packages, per lb.....	3c.	2c.
Sugar of milk, per lb.....	8c.	5c.
Pickles and sauces of all kinds.....	45 p.c.	30 p.c.
Other vegetables, prepared or preserved in tins, jars, bottles or otherwise.....	45 p.c.	30 p.c.
Eggs, per doz.....	5c.	3c.
Hay, per ton.....	\$4	\$2.
Honey, per gal.....	20c.	10c.
Hops, per lb.....	15c.	8c.
Onions, per bush.....	40c.	20c.
Potatoes, per bush. of 60 lbs., per bush.....	25c.	15c.
Castor beans or seeds, per bush. of 50 lbs.....	50c.	25c.
Flaxseed, linseed, poppy seed, and other oil seeds, per bush. of 56 lbs.....	30c.	20c.
Garden seeds, agricultural seeds and other seeds	20 p.c.	10 p.c.
Vegetables in their natural state.....	25 p.c.	10 p.c.
Straw.....	30 p.c.	15 p.c.
Fish in cans or packages.....	30 p.c.	20 p.c.
Dates, green, ripe and dried.....	Free	20 p.c.
Dates, preserved in sugar.....	35 p.c.	20 p.c.
Pineapples.....	Free	20 p.c.
Pineapples, preserved in sugar.....	35 p.c.	20 p.c.
Olives, green or prepared.....	Free	20 p.c.
Figs, per lb.....	2½c.	1½c.
Raisins, per lb.....	2½c.	1½c.
Other dried grapes, including Zante currants, per lb.....	Free	1½c.
Comfits and sweetmeats.....	35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Fruits preserved in their own juices.....	30 p.c.	20 p.c.
Almonds, not shelled, per lb.....	5c.	3c.
Peanuts, or ground beans, unshelled, per lb.....	1c.	20 p.c.
Cocoanuts.....	Free	20 p.c.
Nuts of all kinds, shelled or unshelled, per lb.	1½c.	20 p.c.
Lard, per lb.....	2c.	1c.
Meats, prepared and preserved.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.
Poultry, live, per lb.....	3c.	2c.
Poultry, dressed, per lb.....	5c.	3c.



	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Chocolate confectionery worth over 12c. a pound, per lb.....	50 p. c.	35 p.c.
Starch, per lb.....	2c.	1½c.
Orchids, lily of the valley, azaleas, palms and other plants used for forcing under glass for cut flowers or decorative purposes.....	Free	10 p.c.
Spices, ground or powdered, per lb.....	4c.	3c.

**H.—Spirits, Wines and Other Beverages.**

Brandy, and other spirits, per proof gal.....	\$2.50	\$1.80
Ale, porter and beer, in bottles or jugs, per gal.	40c.	30c.
Otherwise than in bottles or jugs, per gal.....	20c.	15c.
Malt extract, fluid in casks, per gal.....	20c.	15c.
In bottles or jugs.....	40c.	30c.
Solid or condensed.....	40 p.c.	30 p.c.

**I.—Cotton Manufactures.**

Cotton cloth, not bleached, per sq. yd.....	2½c.	1½c.
If bleached, per sq. yd.....	3c.	1½c.
If dyed, colored, stained, painted or printed, per sq. yd.....	4c.	2½c.
Clothing, ready made, and articles of wearing ap- parel of every description, handkerchiefs and neckties or neckwear, composed of cotton or other vegetable fibre.....	50 p.c.	40 p.c.
Chenille curtains.....	60 p.c.	40 p.c.
Shirts or drawers, composed of cotton.....	\$1 and 35 p.c.	50 p.c.
Stockings, hose and half-hose, composed of cotton..	35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Cords, braids, lacings, tapes, suspenders and braces, made of cotton.....	40 p.c.	45 p.c.
All manufactures of cotton, including cloth hav- ing India rubber as a component material.....	40 p.c.	35 p.c.

**J.—Flax, Hemp and Jute and Manufactures of.**

Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," per lb...	3c.	1½c.
Hemp, hackled, known as "dressed line," per lb..	2½c.	1c.
Cables, cordage and twine (except binding twine) per lb.....	1½c.	10 p.c.
Oil cloth for floors, valued at 25c. or less, pr. sq. yd.	40 p.c.	25 p.c.
Collars and cuffs, composed wholly or in part of linen, per dozen pieces.....	30c. & 40 p.c.	30c. & 30 p.c.
Shirts and all other articles of wearing apparel of every description, composed wholly or in part of linen.....	55 p.c.	50 p.c.
Laces, edgings and embroideries.....	60 p.c.	50 p.c.

**K.—Wool and Manufactures of Wool.**

On woolen or worsted yarns, valued at not more than 30c. per pound, per lb.....	27½c. & 35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Woolen shawls, valued at not exceeding 40c. per pound, per lb.....	38½c. & 40 p.c.	35 p.c.

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Blankets, hats of wool and flannels for underwear, valued at more than 30c. and not more than 40c. per pound, per lb.....	22c. & 35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Carpets of wool, flax or cotton, or composed in part of either.....	50 p.c.	30 p.c.

**L.—Silks and Silk Goods.**

Silks partially manufactured, per lb.....	50c.	20 p.c.
Spun silks, in skeins, cops, warps, or on beams....	35 p.c.	30 p.c.
Webbings, gorings, braces, beltings and silk buttons.....	50 p.c.	45 p.c.
Articles of silk lace.....	60 p.c.	50 p.c.
All manufactures of silk or of which silk is the component material of chief value.....	50 p.c.	45 p.c.

**M.—Pulp, Papers and Books.**

Mechanically ground wood pulp, per ton, dry weight.....	\$2.50	10 p.c.
Roofing felt .....	20 p.c.	10 p.c.
Printing paper, sized or glued, suitable only for books and newspapers.....	20 p.c.	15 p.c.
Paper envelopes, per M.....	25c.	20 p.c.
Writing paper, drawing paper and all other paper..	25 p.c.	20 p.c.
Blank books of all kinds.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.

**N.—Sundries.**

Brooms.....	40 p.c.	20 p.c.
Bristles, per lb.....	10c.	7½c.
Pearl and shell buttons.....	2½c. & 25 p.c.	1c. & 15 p.c.
Buttons of ivory, vegetable ivory, glass, bone and horn.....	50 p.c.	35 p.c.
Coal, bituminous and shale, per ton.....	75c.	40c.
Coke.....	20 p.c..	15 p.c.
Dolls (this paragraph not to take effect until January 1, 1895).....	35 p.c.	25 p.c.
Matches, per gross .....	10c.	20 p.c.
Strings for musical instruments, if catgut.....	Free	25 p.c.
Strings for musical instruments, if metal.....	45 p.c.	25 p.c.
Feathers and downs of all kinds, when dressed, colored or manufactured, suitable for millinery use.....	50 p.c.	35 p.c.
Palm-leaf fans, with artificial handles.....	30 p.c.	40 p.c.
Haircloth, known as "crinoline cloth," pr. sq. yd..	8c.	6c.
Hats.....	55 p.c.	40 p.c.
<b>Jewelry—</b>		
All articles commercially known as "jewelry" ..	50 p.c.	35 p.c.
Precious stones of all kinds, cut but not set....	10 p.c.	25 p.c.
If set.....	25 p.c.	30 p.c.
Uncut precious stones of all kinds.....	Free	10 p.c.
Pianoforte leather and piano action leather.....	35 p.c.	20 p.c.
Boots and shoes made of leather.....	25 p.c.	20 p.c.

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Gloves, ladies' or children's, "glace" finish, kid, not over 14 inches in length, per dozen pair..	\$3.25	\$2.25
Manufactures known commercially as bead, beaded or jet trimmings or ornaments.....	45 p.c.	35 p.c.
Photographic dry plates or films.....	60 p.c.	25 p.c.
Pipes and all smokers' articles.....	70 p.c.	50 p.c.
All common tobacco pipes made wholly of clay, valued at no more than 50c. per gross, per gross.....	15c.	10 p.c.
Umbrellas, parasols and sunshades, covered with material composed wholly or in part of silk or alpaca.....	55 p.c.	45 p.c.
Sticks for umbrellas, parasols and sunshades, plain	35 p.c.	30 p.c.

## FREE LIST.

Jute and hemp bagging, per square yard.....	1 6-10c.	Free
Binding twine, per lb.....	7-10c.	Free
All hydrographic charts, and scientific books and periodicals devoted to original scientific research, and publications issued for their subscribers by scientific and literary associations or academies, or publications of individuals for gratuitous private circulation, and public documents issued by foreign governments.....	25 p.c.	Free
Books, maps, etc., for any State or public library..	25 p.c.	Free
Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in length, per lb.	1½c.	Free
Burlaps in bag lengths, and bags for grain, made of burlaps, per lb.....	2c.	Free
Cabbages, each.....	3c.	Free
Copper ores, per lb.....	½c.	Free
Cotton ties, per lb.....	2-10c.	Free
Flax straw, per ton.....	\$5	Free
Flax, not packed, per lb.....	1c.	Free
Tow of flax or hemp, per lb.....	½c.	Free
Hemp, not hackled, per ton.....	\$25	Free
Cod oil, foreign fisheries, per gal.....	8c.	Free
Milk, fresh, per gal.....	5c.	Free
Petroleum, crude.....	10 p.c.	Free
Refined.....	20 p.c.	Free
Paintings in oil or water colors, and statuary.....	15 p.c.	Free
Original drawings or sketches.....	20 p.c.	Free
Artists' proofs of etchings and engravings.....	25 p.c.	Free
Plants, trees, shrubs and vines of all kinds commonly known as nursery stock.....	20 p.c.	Free
Plows, tooth and disk harrows, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills and planters, mowers, horse rakes, cultivators, threshing machines and cotton gins.....	45 p.c.	Free
Hatters' plush.....	10 p.c.	Free

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Salt in bags or other packages, per 100 lbs.....	12c.	Free
In bulk, per 100 lbs .....	8c.	Free
Burr stones.....	15 p.c.	Free
Sulphuric acid, per lb.....	$\frac{1}{4}$ c.	Free
Paving posts, railroad ties, telephone and telegraph poles, all of cedar.....	20 p.c.	Free
Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.....	10 p.c.	Free
Timber, squared or sided, per cubic foot.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ c.	Free
Sawed boards, plank, deals and other lumber, of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore, white pine and bass wood, per 1,000 feet, board measure	\$1	Free
Sawed lumber, per 1,000 feet, board measure.....	\$2	Free
Pine clapboards, per M....	\$1	Free
Spruce clapboards, per M.....	\$1.50	Free
Hubs for wheels, posts, last blocks, wagon blocks, oar blocks, gun blocks, heading and all like blocks or sticks, rough hewn or sawed only...	20 p.c.	Free
Laths, per 1,000 pieces.....	15c.	Free
Pickets and pailings.....	10 p.c.	Free
White pine shingles, per 1,000.....	30 p.c.	Free
All other shingles, per 1,000.....	30 p.c.	Free
Staves of wood of all kinds, wood unmanufactured	10 p.c.	Free
Veneers, unmanufactured.....	20 p.c.	Free

### Wool.

Class 1.—Wools of the merino blood, immediate or remote, down clothing wools and wools of like character with the foregoing, including those usually imported from Buenos Ayres, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, Russia, Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, and all wools not described in classes 2 or 3, per lb.....			11c	Free
Class 2.—Combing wool, Canada long wools, and hair of the camel, goat, alpaca and other like animals, per lb.....			12c.	Free
Class 3.—Donskoi, native South American, Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, Russian camel's hair, and wools usually imported from Turkey, Greece, Egypt and Syria, valued at 13 cents or less per lb.....			32 p.c.	Free
When valued at more than 13 cents per lb.			50 p.c.	Free

# Views and Opinions of Leading Statesmen upon the Great Issues of the Campaign.

## THE GOLD RESERVE AND THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY.

*Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, Jan. 3, 1896,*

**BY HON. JOHN SHERMAN, OF OHIO.**

**MR. PRESIDENT:** In his annual message to Congress the President confined himself to two important subjects, one our foreign relations and the other the condition of our national finances. He followed it by another message on the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela.

While Congress has heartily, perhaps too hastily, but with entire unanimity, supported him in maintaining the interests and honor of our country in the field of diplomacy, it has not and will not approve his recommendations on the more important subject of our financial policy and especially of our currency. He has mistaken the cause of our present financial condition in attributing it to the demand for gold for United States notes instead of to the deficiency of revenue caused by the legislation of the last Congress. He places the effect before the cause.

He proposes as a remedy the conversion of the United States notes and the Treasury notes into interest-bearing bonds, thus increasing the interest-bearing debt nearly \$500,000,000. He proposes a line of public policy that will produce a sharp contraction of our currency, add greatly to the burden of existing debts, and arrest the progress of almost every American industry which now competes with foreign productions.

The President is supported in these views by Mr. Carlisle, his able Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress. It is with diffidence I undertake to controvert their opinions; but my convictions are so strong that they are in error that I hope the strength of the facts I will submit to the Senate will convince it that the true line of public policy is to supply the Government with ample means to meet current expenditures and to pay each year a portion of the public debt.

The gold reserve provided for the redemption of United States notes can then be easily maintained without cost, except the loss of interest on the gold in the Treasury, but with a saving of interest on United States notes and Treasury notes of five times the interest lost by the gold held in reserve. A vastly greater benefit than saving interest is secured to our people by a national paper currency at par with coin supported by the credit of the United States and redeemed on demand in coin at



the Treasury in the principal city of the United States.

The only difficulty in the way of an easy maintenance of our notes at par with coin is the fact that during this Administration the revenues of the Government have not been sufficient to meet the expenditures authorized by Congress. If Congress had provided necessary revenue, or if the President and Mr. Carlisle had refused to expend appropriations not mandatory in form, but permissive, so as to confine expenditures within receipts, they would have had no difficulty with the reserve.

This would have been a stalwart act in harmony with the President's character and plainly within his power. All appropriations which are not provided to carry into effect existing law are permissive, but not mandatory, and his refusal to expend money in excess of the revenues of the Government would not only be justified by public policy, but would have been heartily approved by the people of the United States. He knew as well as any one that since the close of the Civil War to the date of his inauguration the expenditures of the Government had been less than its receipts.

From the official statement it appears that each and every year during that long period there was a surplus, which was applied to the reduction of the public debt bearing interest. This debt

amounted August 31, 1865, to \$2,381,530,294. On the 1st of March, 1893, it was \$585,034,260, thus showing a reduction of the interest-bearing debt of \$1,796,496,034. The public faith was pledged to this reduction in our loan laws and by the act creating a sinking fund, and though in some years we did not comply with the terms of the sinking fund, yet in other years we exceeded its requirements, and prior to this Administration the aggregate reduction of debt was greater than the law required. Now, for the first time since 1866, we have deficiencies of revenue. Since the 1st of March, 1893, to the 1st of December, 1895, the national debt has been increased \$162,602,245. I insert an official table showing in detail the reduction of the public debt in periods of four years from August, 1865, to March 1, 1893, and its increase from that date to December 1, 1895.

The President, in his recent annual message, complains that the law of October 6, 1890, known as the McKinley Act, was "inefficient for the purposes of revenue." That law, though it largely reduced taxation by placing many articles on the free list and granted a bounty for the production of sugar, yet did not reduce revenues below expenditures, but provided a surplus of \$37,239,762.57 June 30, 1891, and \$9,914,453.66 June 30, 1892, and \$2,341,674.29 on the 30th of June, 1893, when Mr. Cleveland was President and a Demo-

cratic majority in both Houses of Congress had been elected, all pledged to repeal the McKinley Act and to reduce duties.

That the McKinley Act did not produce more revenue in 1893 and 1894 is not a matter of surprise. Any tariff law denounced by the party in power, with a promise to repeal it and to reduce duties, would prevent importations under the old law and thus lower the revenue. Early in December, 1893, at the first regular session of Congress during Mr. Cleveland's term, a bill was formulated, and as soon as practicable passed the House of Representatives.

That bill met the hearty approval of the President. If it had become a law as originally presented, the deficiency in revenue would have been much greater than now; but conservative Democratic Senators, with the aid of Republican Senators, greatly improved the House bill, added other duties and changed the scope of the measure. With these amendments it became a law. The President refused to sign it, expressing his opposition to the Senate amendments, and yet now supports it when deficiencies have been greatly increased, when the public debt is increasing, and doubts are expressed as to the ability of the Government to maintain its notes at par with coin.

The President makes no mention in his message

of these deficiencies; no mention of the issue of interest-bearing bonds to meet them. The Secretary of the Treasury is more frank in his statement. He reports a deficiency of \$69,803,260.58 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1894, and for the year ended June 30, 1895, \$42,805,223.18, and for the six months prior to December 1, 1895, \$17,613,539.24; in all, \$130,221,023.

No complaint was made that the McKinley law "was inefficient for the purposes of revenue" when the Wilson bill was pending. The objection to the McKinley law was that it was a "protective tariff," and the Wilson bill was a "revenue tariff." I have a statement showing the receipts and expenditures under each law each month, the McKinley law from its passage to the election of Cleveland, and the Wilson law from its passage to December 1, 1895. During the twenty-five months of the McKinley law the average monthly surplus was \$1,129,821. During the existence of the Wilson law the average monthly deficiency was \$4,699,603. If the McKinley law was, in the opinion of the President, inefficient for revenue, he should have said of the Wilson law that it was bounteous in deficiencies.

I beg the attention of Senators to the statistics I have presented. They are authentic and official. During the first year of the Wilson law the agricultural imports, all of which are such as are

produced in the United States, the most common products of our farms, were of the value of \$107,342,522. During the last year of the McKinley law the imports of the same farm products were of the value of \$51,414,844. So under the Wilson law the imports of agricultural products, which we produce in the greatest abundance, were doubled in amount as compared with the amount imported under the McKinley law.

Notably, during the same time, the importation of two articles (that we can produce in the United States) under the Wilson law were wool, valued at \$32,589,791, and hides, \$24,623,239. Under the McKinley law wool valued at \$6,299,934 and hides valued at \$10,480,562 were imported. Importations of wool were increased under the Wilson law sixfold. It is no wonder that our sheep are being destroyed. The importation of hides under the present act increased two and one-half fold. The American farmer was thus deprived of his home market.

Other importations made during a year under the Wilson law of articles which we can readily produce in this country were valued at \$263,684,513, while under the McKinley law the value of the same articles imported was \$172,743,601.

The enormous importations under the Wilson law, for which we had to pay gold, necessarily diminished the exports of the United States.

Our chief reliance in our foreign trade is to export our products, mainly agricultural, in sufficient quantity or more to pay for our imports, so that the balance of trade shall be in our favor. Under the Wilson law we exported in a year agricultural productions valued at \$301,578,885, while during the last year of the McKinley law we exported similar productions valued at \$371,125,299.

It will thus be seen that under the McKinley law we exported more and under the other act less, the difference amounting to about \$70,000,000. Therefore, the balance of trade necessarily turned against us.

MR. GEORGE. Which two years are compared?

MR. SHERMAN. We compare the last year under the McKinley Act with the first year under the Wilson Act; they follow each other.

I could pursue the analysis of these two laws further, but I have said enough to explain the preference by the President of the Wilson bill. He believes in large importations at the lowest cost, without regard to the industries and labor of our countrymen, while I believe in a careful discrimination and the imposition of such duties on articles that compete with home productions as will diversify our employments and protect and foster impartially all industries, whether of the farm, the workshop, the mine, the forest, or the sea. I have not been satisfied with any tariff law



made during my public life, though I have shared in framing many. I prefer a law that will impartially protect and encourage all home industries, and regard the McKinley law as infinitely better than the Wilson law, which I believe is the cause of all the evils which we now encounter by adverse balance of trade, by exportation of gold and derangement of our monetary system.

The Wilson law has produced a deficiency in every hour and day that it has been on the statute book, while the McKinley law has always produced a surplus until after the incoming of this Administration, and if administered since that time by friendly agents would have furnished the Government all the revenue needed.

The deficiency of revenue was the primary cause of the demand for gold for United States notes. The gold hoarded for resumption purposes was not separated from the money received for current revenue, and this revenue being insufficient to meet expenses, the gold accumulated for redemption purposes was drawn upon to make good deficiencies. This created a doubt of the ability of the Government to maintain the parity of United States notes with coin, and led to their presentation for redemption in coin. The draft on the Treasury for coin during this Administration has been greater than the amount of deficiency of revenue during the same period.

In every aspect in which the subject presents itself to my mind I come to no other conclusion than that the deficiency of revenue and the consequent encroachment upon the redemption fund is the cause of our present financial condition and that the only remedies are either a radical reduction of expenditures or an increase of taxation, and perhaps both. I do not believe that the condition requires a suspension of public works or a postponement of measures now in progress to strengthen the Army and Navy.

A careful study of the systems of banking, currency, and coinage adopted by the principal nations of Europe convinces me that our system, when cured of a few defects developed by time, founded upon the bimetallic coinage of gold and silver maintained at par with each other, with free national banks established in every city and town of importance in the United States, issuing their notes secured beyond doubt by United States bonds or some equivalent security, redeemable on demand in United States notes, and the issue of an amount of United States notes and Treasury notes equal to the amount now outstanding, with provision for a ratable increase with the increase of population, always redeemable in coin and supported by an ample reserve of coin in the Treasury, not to be invaded by deficiencies of revenue, and separated by the sub-treasury system from all

connection with the receipts and expenditures of the Government—such a system would make our money current in commercial circles in every land and clime, better than the best that now exists in Europe, better than that of Great Britain, which now holds the purse-string of the world.

It is not given to man to foresee with certainty the future; but if we may judge the future by the past, the growth and progress of our country will continue, the diversity and extent of our industries will expand, the vast plains of our broad territory will be teeming with population. The rapid growth of our cities, unexampled in the history of mankind, will continue.

A century spans the life of this Republic; what will the next century do? I have seen great changes in my life, but those who come after us will see greater changes still. I may on some proper occasion hereafter give the reasons for my faith in our present financial system. All I ask now is that you will not disturb it with your deficiencies, you will not rob it of its safeguards, you will not return to the days of wildcat money, you will not lessen the savings of prudent labor or the accumulations of the rich. Time makes all things even. Let us give to the executive authorities ample means to meet the appropriations you have made, but let us strengthen rather than weaken our monetary system, which lies at the foundation of our prosperity and progress.

## THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

*Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, April 29th, 1896,*

**BY HON. HENRY M. TELLER, OF COLORADO.**

**M**R. PRESIDENT: I do not intend to enter into any general discussion of the financial question on the naval appropriation bill; but inasmuch as the question of our revenues was discussed on both sides of the Chamber yesterday, I feel at liberty, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and as such somewhat responsible for the character of the appropriations, to express some dissent from the utterances perhaps on both sides of the Chamber with reference to this question.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] during the whole of this session, whenever he has spoken upon this question at all, has insisted that the only trouble in this country is from a lack of revenue. He opened up the discussion early in the campaign by a declaration, in a very able speech, that all we needed at this time was more revenue; that, if we had more revenue, the country would be in a state of peace, order and prosperity. Yesterday the Senator again reiterated his anxiety for more revenue, and complained that the Democratic minority in this Senate—for no political party has a majority here—had not

come to the rescue of the Republican minority for the purpose of securing needed revenue.

In all these discussions the Senator has sought to make the public believe that the most objectionable feature of this Administration—the issue of bonds in time of peace—has grown out of the necessity for more revenue. I find in the public press of the country a very general disposition to attribute the issue of these bonds, amounting to \$262,000,000, to a lack of revenue. Particularly is this true of the party to which I am attached. All their public statements, and, as a rule, the statements of the Eastern press, have approved of the issue of bonds, and have excused it on the ground that it was necessary because there was not sufficient revenue; and, of course, they come back to the charge against the Democratic party, that it is responsible because the revenue is deficient.

Mr. President, before I go into the question whether these bonds have been issued because of a lack of revenue, I want to go back to 1890, when the Democratic party was not responsible for legislation and the Republican party was. We passed then what has been known as the McKinley law, a law which seems just now to be in great favor and very popular, although, I believe, it cost us the following election.

The McKinley law did not provide a sufficiency

of revenue ; everybody knows that it did not, and I think it but fair and honest to say that, if there had been no change of Administration, there would still have been a deficiency of revenue under that law. The condition of the country was such that it was impossible that there should not have been a deficiency. In each of the four months preceding the incoming Administration of Mr. Cleveland there was a deficiency in the Government receipts amounting, on an average, to over a million dollars a month, and we got through with that fiscal year, which ended in June, 1893, with a surplus of \$2,300,000.

Then came what is known as the panic of 1893, in which the consumption and consequently the importation of foreign products fell off, which, of course, produced a falling off in the revenues. It must be borne in mind, which the Senator from Ohio never stated, I believe, until yesterday, that from the time that this Administration came into power, and before they had had an opportunity to do the damage that we on our side recognize that they did in the passage of the Wilson-Gorman law—there had been a failure of revenue in nearly every month after the Administration came in. If there was any month in which there was not a deficiency, it was in the first months in which the Administration took office.

Mr. President, that is a condition which ought



not to exist. I do not think, however, that this Senate is properly subject to the castigation which the Senator from Ohio gives it when he says that it is a disgrace to the Senate that there is not more revenue. The question whether we need more revenue now—that is, a new levy, a new order of duties—will depend upon various things and circumstances. I am of opinion myself, and I believe it can be thoroughly demonstrated, that the present tariff law will produce as much revenue as will be needed whenever prosperity comes to this country.

No revenue law, no collection of imports, which is fairly levied, fairly laid, and fairly collected, will bring to this country a sufficient income until conditions change, and the people are ready to buy and consume. That is the first subject to which the statesmen of this country should direct their attention ; that is the first thing which is absolutely essential and necessary. We must bring back to this country the prosperity which formerly existed and ought still to exist in this country.

I know, Mr. President, that as a Republican it may be considered to be my duty from a partisan standpoint to insist that the lack of prosperity is the result of a Democratic Administration. I do not so believe.

I do not approve of the Wilson-Gorman Act. I think it is an inartistic measure ; but I think in

many respects it carries as much duty upon articles of import as any law ever should carry. I said when that measure was pending in the Senate that there were duties levied by that bill so large that if it had been proposed by a Republican House or a Republican Senate I should myself, as a protectionist, have voted to reduce them. That law is an unfair one in many respects. It is unfair in this, that it does not equitably distribute the burdens and does not equitably distribute the advantages which arise under a tariff law. One of the great industries in the State which I represent, the wool industry, is entirely ignored by that law.

The trouble with the duty on woolen goods is not that it is too high or too low, but that Europe is in a condition where she can manufacture and must manufacture cheap goods. She has large foreign markets. She has large markets other than ours, and when the conditions here invited her imports she put her goods at such low rates that no American manufacturer, paying American wages, could compete with her. The foreign manufacturers are putting their goods at a price which is less than profitable, if the statements made in Europe are true. They are sending us goods which they manufacture with their cheap labor and which are not required for the other markets. No tariff that you could put on goods would probably meet that condition.

I do not know what the deficiency is going to be this year, but I do know that the deficiencies on the 28th day of April for the year were \$24,-247,517.83. On that day we had \$273,522,338 in the Treasury. I repeat, there is not a nation on the face of the earth that holds \$273,000,000 in its Treasury for ordinary purposes. If there is such a nation at all it is Russia, that is stated to have accumulated a large amount, nobody knows how much, for war purposes—not to be used except in case of an emergency for war. There is more money in the Treasury than the people of the United States are willing should be put there and there tied up.

Every dollar of money that is put into the Treasury comes out of the circulation that is necessary in this country to maintain even the present bad conditions of commerce and trade. Inside of twenty-seven months you have put into the Treasury \$200,000,000 that had been in circulation. You drew out of the circulation of this country \$200,000,000 and put it where it is of no more value to commerce and trade than it would be if it were in the depths of the sea.

And yet, Mr. President, Senators rise here and wonder why it is that business does not revive, why it is that prosperity does not come to us. We have had contraction at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, contraction since the 1st of February this

year of \$100,000,000, apparently in ignorance of a well-known and well-settled principle of political economy, that when you decrease the circulation of the money you destroy prices and you discourage enterprise and retard all movements toward production.

Mr. President, if there ever was a nation in the world that seems to be governed by imbeciles and men without thought or men without reason, it is fair to say we are now in the hands of that class of people. The history of the world does not show such contraction as we have voluntarily and deliberately and willingly taken it upon ourselves to create for the simple purpose of maintaining the gold standard, and nothing else.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] knows, and every man in this Chamber knows, that the \$262,000,000 is a debt put upon this country to maintain the gold standard. And he knows, as I know, that the \$262,000,000 is but the beginning of a debt that is to be put upon us if the gold standard is to be maintained. It will not do for the Senator to tell me or anybody else in this Chamber that revenue is what you want. What you want, Mr. President, is some system of finance that shall bring confidence to the people who create and produce, that shall encourage them in the belief that when they manufacture an article they want to sell they can sell it for as much at

least as it cost. The absolute certainty exists to-day in every productive circle in the United States, and pretty nearly in the world, that he who produces to-day must sell to-morrow at a loss.

Mr. President, the financial question is at the bottom of this trouble, not a lack of revenues. I do not intend myself to allow either the Senator from Ohio or anybody else to fool the people of this country with the idea that all you need is to pass the McKinley bill again, and that then prosperity will come. You will never see the McKinley bill re-enacted, and if you did you would not see prosperity come from it. We have been promised all these years that if we would do this and if we would do the other thing, prosperity would be at our door. Every promise made has failed.

Mr. President, I have myself an idea that there is a method by which we can relieve the people of this country. I do not know that I am correct. I will not insist that I am infallible upon the question. I may be in error. In my anxiety that the people should have some opportunity of recovering their standing, restoring the industries, bringing back prices where they ought to be brought, it is possible that I have thought so much of it and have been so anxious about it that my judgment may not be good. But in my judgment there is no one who has proposed any system in this coun-

try that will save this people except that of the free coinage of silver.

The President of the United States said that he wanted to retire the greenbacks. The Senator from Ohio said on this floor that that would not do. The President of the United States wanted to meet the crisis in financial affairs by a further and a greater contraction of the currency. The Senator from Ohio was not willing to go to that extent, and he said it ought not to be done. But yet the Senator said they ought to pile up the notes in the Treasury and keep them out of circulation. I believe the Senator from Ohio proposed in this Chamber that \$100,000,000 of them should at all times be locked up in the Treasury and kept there—a permanent contraction.

Mr. President, I am concerned, I freely admit, for the future of my country. I have stood in this Chamber and defended what I believe to be a correct monetary system, not because the people of my State produce silver, not because the people of my State are locally interested, but because I believe that the peace and prosperity, the morality and the religion of this country are dependent upon a sound and proper financial system. I do not believe you can have patriotism and love of country while the people are in distress. Empty stomachs do not make patriots; destitute homes do not make liberty-loving men. No nation can



maintain its freedom and independence if it does not have as the substratum for its people to stand on, prosperity, not to a few, but to all. The system now in vogue is one calculated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. I do not intend to go into details; I do not intend to cite, as I could, statistics to show that the great laboring mass, the twenty-odd millions of men who till the soil, are practically tilling it to-day without profit. They are farming, as was said of the English farmer by an Englishman not long since, for a bare subsistence.

Mr. President, I should despise myself, holding the views I do, if I should lift my hand to put in power any man who could from the Executive Chamber use the slightest influence to continue the existing system of finance. Holding, as I do, that the interest of the whole race is wrapped up in this question; that it is not only for our interest, but the interest of the world—for I believe all peoples are interested in it, and that if we do not restore the par of exchange between the gold-standard and the silver-using countries inside of a generation, that we shall transform Christendom into Asiatic conditions and we shall put the laborers of Christendom under Asiatic pay as well as under Asiatic conditions—believing that, as I do, I should despise myself, as you ought to despise me, if I did not lift my voice against a system threatening

such danger; and if I should lift my voice one way and vote another, you would have a right to accuse me of hypocrisy and deceit. As I speak, Mr. President, so shall I vote, in the interest, as I believe, of the great masses of men in this country; and in the interest, as I believe, of the great masses of men throughout Christendom.

MR. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I may be expected, probably, through courtesy to the Senator from Colorado [MR. TELLER], to make some brief reply to the speech he has just made.

I know that the Senator from Colorado is an honest man; he has strong convictions, the strongest of all of which is that silver is the loadstone of prosperity. I always respect a man who stands up for his opinions, whether they be right or wrong. Most of the Senator's argument has been repeated to us before, and necessarily so, because the Senator has often spoken on this subject. He has said many things to which I should like to reply, but I do not care to do so except as to some few points.

The Senator believes that the free coinage of silver, which means a dollar worth 50 cents in gold, will be the salvation of the country.

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MR. TELLER. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio repeats what the gold-standard people always state when they make a speech. There is not a speech made that does not have in it the statement

that if you go to free coinage you will have a 50-cent dollar. The fact is you have a two-dollar dollar now, and that is what is the trouble with this country. The dollar of this country to-day measures twice what it used to measure; it commands twice the products. There are several countries in the world that have free coinage, notably Mexico and Japan, and neither of them has a 50-cent dollar.

It is a notorious fact which no one will deny who is at all acquainted with the conditions (and if any one doubts my statement he can take the consular reports from Mexico and Japan and find that I make a correct statement) that the purchasing power of the Mexican dollar and the Japanese yen, which is equivalent to a dollar practically, is as great now as it was thirty years ago. That is true of the Mexican dollar, which circulates all over Asia, in the Straits Settlements, in China, and to some extent, though not much, in India; it will buy as much as it ever bought. The Indian rupee, equivalent at its face value to about 2 shillings of English money, will buy just as much as it would ever buy.

There has been no depreciation, or, in other words, there has been no rise of prices when measured by the three kinds of money that I have mentioned in the countries in which they circulate. The Japanese money, which is the standard there,

is about the same as the Mexican dollar, and it buys just as much as it used to buy. When the Japanese pays his workmen he pays them just what he used to pay them in silver. When the Mexican pays his workmen he pays them just what he used to pay them in silver. If he wants to buy material for his manufacture, he pays the same price if it is home-raised and home-produced. The same may be said of India.

Now, why does the Senator from Ohio say there will be a 50-cent dollar? There has been no 50-cent dollar in the countries that have maintained free coinage. The theory of the Senator is that gold has advanced, and if we went to coining silver it would be worth half as much, or worth in its dollar state just as much as in its bullion state.

Mr. President, I do not intend to go into any discussion of that point, except to say that the moment you opened your mint and gave to the silver dollar the same power that you gave to the gold dollar for every purpose whatever in the domestic economy, at least of this country, it would be equivalent to gold.

## BIMETALLISM AND BOND ISSUES.

*Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, Jan. 16, 1896.*

BY HON. W. A. PEFFER, OF KANSAS.

**M**R. PRESIDENT: We have been from the beginning a bimetallic people, supplementing our metal with paper money as our business necessities required. Paragraph 5 of Section 8 of Article I. of the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power "to coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin." In pursuance of this authority, Congress provided early for the coining of money out of gold and silver at a valuation named in the law, and all our subsequent legislation down to 1873 was enacted on the bimetallic basis.

All political parties uniformly recognized the law of our monetary system. No party at any time would have dared to advocate a change. The alteration had to be done without the people's knowledge, or it could not have been done at all.

Even now, while both of the great political parties practice gold monometallism through their members chosen to administer the laws, the parties in their national and State conventions declare in favor of bimetallism.

The Republican party, in the last national plat-

form, asserted a well-known fact when declaring that "the American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism." And the Democratic party declared the same idea. Nobody disputes that proposition. Our history is very clear on that point. But the bimetallism which the American people favor from "tradition and interest" is the bimetallism established by the fathers, and continued by their descendants—the dollar to be the unit, and its representative coin to be made of 371½ grains of silver, with multiples made of gold at a proper ratio fixed by United States laws.

Free and unlimited coinage means the coining without charge of all gold and silver bullion brought to the mint, and delivering the coin to the owner of the bullion as soon as it is coined. It is exactly the same kind of a transaction as taking a grist of wheat or corn to the mill, and having it ground into flour or meal, except that the miller exacts toll, while the mint makes no charge.

There is another thing about free coinage that is especially important and must not be overlooked. The owner of bullion takes bullion to the mint, and takes coin away with him. It is the owner of the bullion, and not the Treasury of the United States, that gets the coin. And he wants it because it is coin, something that he can use anywhere and everywhere in the country in the trans-



action of business, and in the forwarding of enterprises in which he wishes to engage. In short, he wants it because it is money. And it is of no benefit to him without use. Its use is circulating among the people, performing the functions of money. It pays for labor, it purchases materials, it pays debts, it stimulates industry, and it infuses life into trade.

These coins which have been fashioned from the bullion are charged with the highest and most exalted attributes of sovereignty. They are authorized and empowered to effect exchanges of property and of values among the people, and they are commissioned to cancel pecuniary obligations among citizens.

They have a still higher prerogative than this. They may take the place of a specific performance of a contract which one or both parties has been unable to execute according to agreement. From the moment these coins go into the possession of their owner they are that much added to the stock of active money of the country, for their owner got them for that purpose, and he will see to it that they get into active circulation as soon as possible.

But when the Government purchases bullion, and piles the coin in the Treasury, it does not get into circulation at all. And herein lies one advantage of free coinage to the people. In the latter

case the coin goes out at once among them. It is the chief business of its owner to get it into circulation, for it is of no benefit to him until he does. When it lies in treasury vaults it is of no use to any person, unless it is represented by certificates or notes that are out circulating as money. But the certificates do not affect the value of gold unless they are made lawful tender in payment of debts to private creditors.

There is not coin enough in the world to transact the ordinary business of the people, and in our own country we are now buying gold to maintain a coin basis for our monetary system.

We shall need a great deal more coin than we now have or can procure unless we go into our mines and dig the metal there to manufacture the coin out of. We have an immense outstanding indebtedness that we have promised to pay in coin, and this obligation must be provided for if we do not wish to play Micawber and pay our debts with new notes.

I believe in the coinage of both gold and silver, but not as an original proposition. If we were just setting out to establish a new monetary system, having had no experience with metallic coins, I should not favor the use of any material that is very costly, any material which speculators and money-changers could corner and thus force oppressive financial legislation upon the people. I would

choose some material out of which to make our coins that had of itself very little value, but suitable in every way for the purpose, so that a small quantity of it, as much as would be used in one piece or one coin, to represent \$1, or \$5, or \$10, would be so small that there would be no inducement to speculate in it.

I believe in the coinage of gold and silver, first, because our people have long been accustomed to it. The people of the entire world have been accustomed to it. It is part of the financial policy of all civilized and enlightened men everywhere, descended to us from the far distant past.

I favor the coinage of gold and silver for another reason. At this time gold alone is being coined, and there is not one-hundredth part enough of gold and silver combined to perform the monetary functions required among the people. I favor the restoration of the coinage of silver for still another reason, that we may, as soon as possible, out of our own mines or mines in other portions of the world, secure the coin we need for the purpose of paying our coin obligations.

I regard a correct system of money as among the most important agencies in human development. Commerce has uniformly opened the way for advancing civilization, and money in one form or another has been the handmaid of trade. Fairs afforded opportunities during the Dark Ages for

people to exchange property by barter; but ships and railways and banks and telegraphs have brought a new citizenship to the nations and have established a new kingdom on the earth. Rapid communication, ready exchange, quick returns, and the massing of capital make new agencies of effort to be among the necessary accompaniments of these new conditions.

The Phoenicians and the Romans propelled their ships with oars; now we drive great ocean steamers across the Atlantic in five days. The Britons and the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans and the Gauls carried their produce on the backs of animals or in rude carts on heavy roads; but the modern railway train has reached a speed of 80 miles an hour. All the machinery of life and labor has been changed, and the world seems to have been created anew.

We have made some progress in the development of devices to be used as money, and in our experience we have produced some wonderful implements in exchange. Banks, as places of deposit; banks as places to buy and sell money—places to exchange exchange, if the expression is allowable, are highly wrought contrivances to aid commerce, and with but little improvement in their constitution, object, and management, they could be made mighty instruments of power for good in the best direction of human endeavor.

But banks, like all other public agencies, being intended for the good of the people at large, ought to be conducted as public institutions. The money they use ought to be of only one kind, and that created and supplied by the General Government. No private concern of any character ought to be permitted to issue its notes to be used as money, and interest ought to be abolished. All the money required in a legitimate transaction of the people's business ought to be supplied by the Government through its own agents at a charge sufficient to cover only the operating expenses of the business.

Holding these opinions, I believe that among the things required of us, and what, in self-defense, we must sooner or later do, is, after providing for the accumulation of coin enough to meet our coin obligations, to reconstruct our monetary system so that the money function shall be discharged in a natural way.

Let us christen and baptize the unit, and we have a standard forever. We will name it "Dollar," and call its one-hundredth part a cent, and we have a simple standard of value by which we can express any and all values in dollars and cents.

Among the advantages of this system of money may be mentioned—

First. It would be just to all the people alike in its use. It would be the only money of the country, excepts coins that would better serve the pur-

poses of small transactions, and would be full legal-tender everywhere, thus saving to the people everything that is now lost by reason of using a small amount of metal coin as the only legal-tender money.

Second. It would do away with usury, for it would develop a system of public banking through which money would be circulated at cost of the business.

Third. It would reduce rents to a reasonable level, so that common people could procure and hold their homes.

Fourth. It would bring about a simpler, a juster, and more natural system of taxation, for (a) it would teach the people that personal property—the things which men and women produce by their labor—ought not to be taxed; and (b) this would lead to the taxation of the rental value of lands, without regard to improvements, which would afford sufficient public revenue and leave the people free to work and earn money for themselves and not for others.

Fifth. It would terminate the rule of the money power. The quantity of paper required for all the money needed by the people from year to year would be too small and the profit on its manufacture too little to tempt any speculator to corner the paper market. And the rate of interest that could be procured for the use of private money would not justify any person on his own individual



account to engage in the business of money-lending. This could be done only in cases of enormous aggregations of wealth, for it would have to be done in competition with Government banking, through which charges for the use of borrowed money would be only what would defray expenses of doing the work.

I have to add but a single thought, as it was expressed in the conclusion of a speech I had the honor to deliver in this Chamber on the 12th day of May, 1892.

Mr. President, standing as we do in the evening of the most fruitful century of human progress, looking backward over achievements grand in their scope, astounding in their numbers, and bewildering in their effects, discovery, invention, development in all departments of effort, change and improvement everywhere, and looking forward toward the dawn of a higher and broader civilization, with fresh discoveries of genius and nobler reaches of mind, when we shall have happier conditions, with larger liberty, purer pleasures, and the enjoyment of more abundant leisure, strange it is that we are just beginning to study one of the most subtle and cunning agencies of human activity.

How strange that this should be true; that while we have changed our methods in all departments of industry, and are now searching for new

and better ways along every avenue of growth, we hold with an almost desperate grip to a money system that descended to us from the barbarism of the past! The time is at hand when we need improvement in our methods of providing and distributing this most convenient repository of values.

The things which are bound up in the one word "money" are an innumerable host that no man can number, involving endless development of mind and thought and energy, perpetual progress and growth. Like the rod of Moses, money brings forth water from nature's rock. As healthy blood imparts vigor and strength to the human body, so money in active circulation quickens the pulses of trade, encourages the toiling poor, gives employment to willing hands, and brings prosperity and peace to the people.

### ISSUE AND SALE OF BONDS.

*Speech Delivered in the United States Senate,*

**BY HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN, OF NEBRASKA.**

**M**R. PRESIDENT: Much is being said about the gold-reserve fund, and the necessity of preserving it inviolate. If there is such a thing as a reserve fund for the purpose of redeeming legal-tender Treasury notes, this fund should be used for that purpose whenever demanded, and

there is no necessity for an issuance and sale of bonds until this is done.

On the other hand, if there is no reserve fund, then there is sufficient money in the Treasury to meet the obligations of the Government as fast as they mature, until sufficient revenue flows into it from tariff and internal taxation. In either event there is no necessity for the issuance and sale of bonds.

But, sir, there is not, by provision of law, a reserve fund. There never was such a thing until some lord of the Treasury Department, who was devoted to the interests of the money power, at his own caprice and without the authority of law created it. Every dollar of the so-called reserve fund can to-day be paid out without violating any law or contract, and if the Secretary of the Treasury does not do so it is simply because he does not see fit to discharge his duty and expects party discipline and indulgence to sustain him.

The so-called reserve fund is one of the instruments used in a gigantic system of buncoing the people. It is used as the occasion and pretext for the unnecessary issuance and sale from time to time of Government bonds, with which to stop the clamoring of Lombard and Wall Street sharks, as the dismal bark of Cerberus, the triple-mouthed dog that stood guard at the gate of Hades, was

stopped by being fed with victims destined for the weird and waste land of Pluto.

It may be said in extenuation of Mr. Carlisle's conduct that his usurpation of power is justified by the gravity of the financial situation. Sir, there can be no excuse for usurpation. There never was a usurper in all past time who did not undertake to justify his conduct by the specious plea of necessity. Necessity has been the pretext of kings and pretenders since the dawn of history, and every step taken in advance by the human race has been in spite of the cunning of such men.

Against John G. Carlisle, the individual, eminent citizen, and illustrious statesman, I have not one word to offer; but against the usurpation of the Secretary of the Treasury and against his resurrection of a statute quiescent for years and dead for decades by fulfillment of its provisions and which had fallen by repeal, I desire to enter a most emphatic and solemn protest. I enter this protest in the interest of my countrymen now and hereafter; in the interest of constitutional government; in the interest of republican institutions; in the interest of efficiency in office, and in the interest of civil liberty itself.

**OPPOSED TO FREE SILVER.****BY HON. GROVER CLEVELAND.**

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1896.

I have made no figures as to the probable action of delegates already chosen or to be chosen to the Democratic National Convention, but I refuse to believe that when the time arrives for deliberate action there will be engrafted upon our Democratic creed a demand for the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver. I cannot believe this, because I know the Democratic party is neither unpatriotic nor foolish, and because it seems so clear to me that such a course will inflict a very great injury upon every interest of our country, which it has been the mission of Democracy to advance, and will result in lasting disaster to our party organization.

There is little hope that as a means of success this free silver proposition, after its thorough discussion during a political campaign, will attract a majority of the voters of the country. It must be that many of the illusions influencing those now relying upon this alleged panacea for their ills, will be dispelled before the time comes for them to cast their ballots, which will express their sober second thought. The adoption by the Democracy of this proposition would, I believe, give to our

opponents an advantage both in the present and future, which they do not deserve.

My attachment to true Democracy is so strong that I consider its success as identical with the promotion of the country's good.

This ought sufficiently to account for my anxiety that no mistake be made at our party convention. In my opinion no effort should be spared to secure such action of the delegates as will avert party demoralization.

It is a place for consultation and comparison of views; and those Democrats who believe in the cause of sound money should there be heard and be constantly in evidence.

A cause worth fighting for is worth fighting for to the end. If sound money Democrats suppose there is danger of a mistake being made, such danger should stimulate their activity in averting it, instead of creating discouragement.

I am very far from arrogating to myself a controlling influence upon the policy of my party; but as an unflinching Democrat who has been honored by his party, and who desires hereafter no greater political privilege than to occupy the place of private in its ranks, I hope I may not be blamed for saying this much at this time, in the interest, as it seems to me, of the grand old organization, so rich in honorable traditions, so justly proud of its achievements, and always so undaunted and brave in its battles for the people's welfare.



## THE EAST AND THE WEST.

BY E. L. GODKIN,

*Editor New York Evening Post.*

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THE currency problem is complicated by the attitude of the West toward the East. That there is a line dividing the two regions has been for a long time vaguely perceived, but it was never so clearly defined as by the war feeling and by the silver question. Speaking generally, the bulk of whatever there was of pugnacity toward England after Mr. Cleveland's Message was to be found west of the Alleghanies; and, speaking generally, also, it may be said that the principal support of the silver standard is to be found west of the Alleghanies.

It is accompanied in both cases by a dislike or distrust of the East, which is partly social and partly financial, and covers also European countries, but principally England. The social dislike or distrust would need an article to itself. The financial is, in the main, that of a borrowing for a creditor community, and that of a new agricultural community for one which is devoted mainly to the business of selling commodities and exchange-

ing money. It is composed, in part, of the old dislike of the farmer for the financier, and in part that of the poor debtor for the rich creditor.

Behind it all lies great ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations, and of the other forms of society than those by which western men are surrounded, combined with an immense sense of power. It is difficult to make a western man understand that a country of 70,000,000 of inhabitants cannot do anything that it has a fancy to do, including the circulation of silver at a fixed ratio. It is also difficult to persuade him that a well-dressed man with superfine manners does not cherish evil designs of some sort.

Escape from the silver idea is not likely to be easy. The protective idea is incorporated with it. The belief that silver is a commodity, not simply a measure of value, has taken possession of the western mind. The notion that it is, therefore, as much entitled to protection as any other commodity, by any means within reach of the Government, is not easily dislodged, so long as the protective theory prevails at the East.

It is not easy for an eastern protectionist to face the arguments by which a western man refuses to help the East to support its industries by heavy duties so long as the West, and more especially the mining States, have no share in the blessings derived from the national policy. The western

man is a protectionist, too, but he wishes to push the plan farther, and he has concocted a theory of currency to go along with it. A self-supporting Europe-defying country, producing everything it wants for its own use, including its own money, is his idea of a state.

The eastern man goes only half way. He wishes to be independent of Europe industrially, but to keep up his connection with it pecuniarily, which is not thorough and complete "Americanism."

That these ideas will be overcome, except by actual experiment, seems unlikely. If the currency should by the next election fall into the hands of a Government dominated by the ideas of the silverites, we must be prepared for deliverance through a panic of very great magnitude. This is the way, as a general rule, the financial heresies of a democracy are dissipated. Books are not read, or theorists much listened to. The thing has to be tried.

Nevertheless discussion has produced a great deal of effect in the great cities where commercial considerations tell, and the chances are that, if the sound-money men shall get hold of the Government in 1897, the cult of silver will gradually retreat, like paganism in the early ages, to remote country districts, and linger rather as a superstition than as a financial theory. Several things

are working against it, and the most powerful is the great increase in the production of gold; but its greatest support, that which will probably last longest, is patriotic belief in the power of the nation to do what it pleases.

Much the same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the tariff question. I am quite aware that there is a great deal to be said for a tariff that shall fairly protect native industries from foreign competition. The theory of protection has been defended by many able men, and is held by many honest ones. But the protective tariff, as enacted by legislation either in this or in any other democratic country, is never the protective tariff which publicists or economists work out in their libraries.

The latter takes a general view of the whole field of industry, and endeavors to impose duties with such impartiality that no one industry shall profit at the expense of another, or interfere with another's freedom of action. Moreover it insists above all things on permanence or, at all events, on sufficient permanence to enable the legislator to see the result of his own experiments, as regards the amount and the incidence of his duties. This is the sort of tariff protectionists write books about, and lecture about and laud on the stump.

The actual tariff of legislation is a totally different affair. It is made up not so much on a general view of the needs of all industries, as on the ac-

count each industry gives of the amount of duty it needs to make it profitable. It favors, too, those which are able to make the largest contributions to electioneering expenses of the party which enacts it, without regard to the general effect. Permanence is the last thing it thinks of.

Our tariff has undergone twenty-five changes since the war, all in the direction of higher duties. All but one of these changes were made on the demand of manufacturers, who claimed more assistance, and got it without any inquiry into the reason why they needed it, or why they had failed to make sufficient profits under the existing duties. So that the tariff of the scientific protectionists is never seen and probably never will be seen in practice, nor is it at all likely that any tariff can ever have much stability,—and this for reasons which apply to all, or nearly all, governmental interferences with trade and industry.

No such interference can in modern society ever be isolated or confined to one object or class of objects. Its effects are always vastly more far-reaching than the promoter ever imagines. One of the most marked of these is to stimulate competition at home by bringing more capital into every protected industry,—thus diminishing the advantages of protection to each beneficiary, while tempting people to start new industries without a special fitness for them, in reliance on protection.

So that, like all stimulants, its influence diminishes as time goes on, and the cry for more duties or new duties is constant.

There have been, as I have said, twenty-five changes in the tariff since 1861, and only one of them has been due to the so-called free-traders. All the others were made on the demand of dissatisfied protectionists. And yet, as any business man will tell you, nothing is more necessary to prosperous industry than stability in the conditions under which it is carried on. That is, business can flourish under either a high or low tariff, if the business man can make his calculations with certainty. But of any steady tariff there is no more promise, apparently, to-day than there was ten years ago.

If the Republicans elect the President next fall and have a majority in both Houses, they will probably pass something like the old McKinley tariff bill, and they will generally suppose that this will bring in an era of prosperity; but it will not do so any more than the old McKinley tariff which led to the terrible defeat of 1890. It will be full of excesses and abuses which will bring about another reaction, and there will then be in a few years another kind of tariff with a similar result. Prosperity will wait for a settlement of the currency question. Business—the making of money by the production or sale of commodities—



is the greatest interest of life to the bulk of the American community. As soon as government is presented to men as an instrument for the addition to their income of a sum in dollars and cents which they can enter in their ledgers every year, as they can profits from a speculation, they cease to think of it as an instrument for the promotion of the general welfare. Their mind gets fixed on it wholly as a means of increasing their own revenues.

When a man has once entered in his accounts a good sum as the result of a piece of legislation procured by his own exertions, he is never again the same man as a citizen. He takes an entirely different view of the state, of the objects of government, of the nature of patriotism, and of the functions of the legislator. Politics becomes business to him. The duty of getting high-tariff men into Congress who will put the right duty on his commodity becomes a duty which he owes to his partners, to his creditors, to his family, and to the community. The expediency of paying any sum necessary to elect such men becomes as plain as the expediency of paying the expenses of his drummers.

Opponents of his tariff become to him assailants of property and order. A speech against the tariff is an instigation to communists to wreck his mill or his workshop. Free trade-books become quasi-incendiary publications. Free-trade profes-

sors and editors are corrupters of youth. All the mental influences which create orthodoxy on any subject, work for the conversion of defence against foreign industrial competition into the highest duty of the citizen.

Once fill the country with this idea, as with a religion, and the effect on politics soon becomes manifest. Men who believe in freedom of thought and expression, and who think that government has other and higher duties than seeing that the business of the private citizen is profitable, are generally the fittest men for public life.

Such men are rarely good tariff men, and they are, therefore, sedulously discarded by caucuses and conventions. Bosses are hostile to them because money cannot readily be obtained to promote their election, and because they are too independent to be easily disciplined. When this process has lasted a number of years, the thoughts of the *élite* of the nation naturally turn away from politics to fields in which a man may speak the thing he wills, and be the master of his own career.

The financial situation is simply thus: Partly under the influence of the silver craze, partly under the influence of a renewal of the greenback craze,—which makes greenbacks a sacred relic of the war, to be preserved in spite of their defects as money,—we have undertaken to keep about \$900,000,000 of mixed silver and government

paper at par with gold. This is the most tremendous task any civilized government has ever imposed upon itself. The Bank of England only agrees to keep \$80,000,000 of paper at par. The Bank of France has only \$700,000,000 to look after, at the most, for this is all the paper it is allowed to issue, and keeps gold for nearly half of this. The German bank has only to keep its paper at par in securities, bank notes, discounted bills, and legal-tender notes of the government.

But we undertake to see that everybody who wants it shall get gold for more than \$400,000,000 of silver, which bring only 58 per cent. of intrinsic value in the market, and for about \$500,000,000 of paper which has no intrinsic value whatever. In order to do this, we borrow gold whenever our stock of it runs short, and every successful loan is greeted as a great financial triumph.

The work of currency reform, therefore, consists in following the example of the other great nations of the earth and leaving silver to do the best it can as token-money or small change,—that is, limiting its legal-tender quality,—and in reducing the volume of the greenbacks, or wholly redeeming them, and discharging the Government from the duty of keeping anything at par, except its own credit. But this involves the substitution, for the greenbacks and silver, of some sort of banking system whose paper shall be secure and

whose circulation shall contract and expand with the wants of trade.

No Legislature since 1815 has had a more serious task before it than this, and we doubt if any Legislature has ever had. It will need a Congress either of remarkable intelligence or of remarkable docility. It will need a first-rate financier to direct the operation, one who is intimately acquainted with currency problems both as affected by home trade and by foreign exchange, such a man, in truth, as Alexander Hamilton or Albert Gallatin.

# Interesting

## Facts about all our Presidents.

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### ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON.

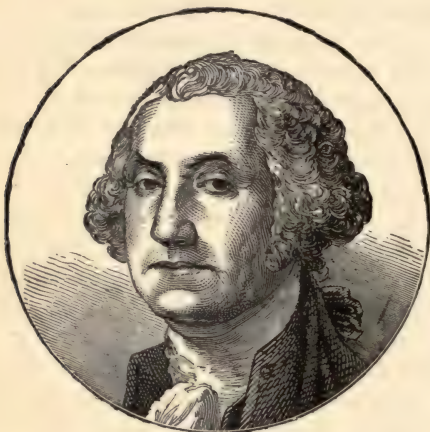
1789-1797.

THE 4th of March, 1789, was the time appointed for the Government of the United States to go into operation under its new organization; but several weeks elapsed before quorums of both Houses of Congress were assembled. The city of New York was the place where Congress then met.

On the 6th of April the electoral votes were counted. At that time, and until 1805, each elector voted by ballot for two persons. If a majority of all the votes were cast for any person, he who received the greatest number of votes became President, and he who received the next greatest number became Vice-President. When the votes were counted they were found to be for George Washington, of Virginia, 69 (all of the electors having voted for him), John Adams, of Massachusetts received 34 votes, and 35 votes were cast for various other candidates.

Charles Thompson, the oldest secretary of Congress, was sent to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. Washington promptly signified his acceptance of the office, and, two days later, started for New York. He was desirous of

travelling as quietly and unostentatiously as possible, but the people of the States through which he passed would not permit him to do so. His journey was a constant ovation. Crowds greeted him at every town with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of affection and confidence; triumphal



**GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

arches were erected, and his way was strewn with flowers by young girls; and maidens and mothers greeted him with songs composed in his honor. In consequence of these demonstrations his progress was so much retarded that he did not reach New York until the latter part of April.

On the 30th of April Washington appeared on



the balcony of Federal Hall, New York, on the site of which the United States Treasury now stands, and took the oath of office in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and a large crowd of citizens assembled in the streets below. He then repaired to the Senate chamber, and there delivered an address to both Houses of Congress. The plan of the new government being now completed, Congress proceeded to its organization through the departments of the judiciary, of state, of the treasury, of war, and of attorney-general.

President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, and General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War. John Jay, of New York, was made Chief-Justice of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was chosen Speaker of the House; but his election was not a party triumph, for parties were still in a state of utter confusion. Between the extreme Anti-Federalists, who considered the Constitution a long step toward a despotism, and the extreme Federalists, who desired a monarchy modeled on that of England—there were all varieties of political opinion. Washington, through the universal confidence in his integrity and good judgment, had the ability to hold together the conservative men

of all parties for a time, and prevent party contest upon the interpretation of Federal powers until the Constitution should be tested and its value demonstrated to the people.

In 1792 the second Presidential election took place. Washington was anxious to retire, but yielded to the wishes of the people, and was again chosen President by the unanimous vote of the electoral colleges of the several States.

The electoral votes were counted in February, 1793, and found to be for George Washington 132 (all the electors having voted for him), for John Adams 77, for George Clinton 50, for Thomas Jefferson 4, and for Aaron Burr 1. Washington was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1793.

At the close of his term of office Washington withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon, to enjoy the repose he had so well earned, and which was so grateful to him. His administration had been eminently successful. When he entered upon the duties of the Presidency the government was new and untried, and its best friends doubted its ability to exist long; the finances were in confusion, and the country was burdened with debt; the disputes with Great Britain threatened to involve the country in a new war; and the authority of the general government was uncertain and scarcely recognized. When he left office the state of affairs was changed. The government had been severely tested, and had been found equal to any demand

upon it. The disputes with England had been arranged, and the country, no longer threatened with war, but was free to devote its energies to its improvement. Industry and commerce were growing rapidly.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

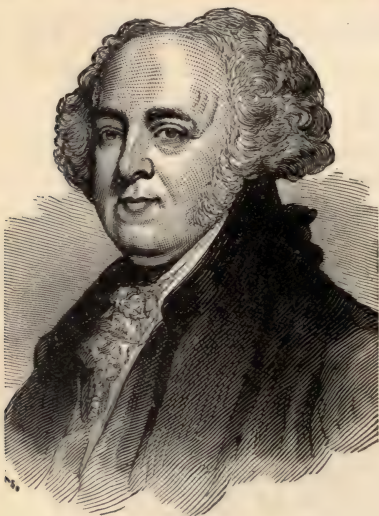
4th of March, 1797—4th of March, 1801.

At the elections held in the fall of 1796 the Federalists put forward John Adams, of Massachusetts, as their candidate, while the Republicans or Democrats supported Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. The contest was very bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, receiving the next highest number of votes, was declared Vice-President, in accordance with the law as it then stood.

The electoral vote was counted in February and was as follows: For John Adams 71, for Thomas Jefferson 68, for Thomas Pinckney 59, for Aaron Burr 30, and the rest scattering.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Mr. Adams, the second President of the United States, was inaugurated at Philadelphia, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as Vice-President. Mr. Adams was dressed in a full suit of pearl-colored broadcloth, and wore his hair powdered. He was in the sixty-second year of his age, and in the full vigor of health and intellect.

Mr. Adams made no changes in the cabinet left by President Washington, and the policy of his administration corresponded throughout with that of his great predecessor. He came into office at a time when this policy was to be subjected to



JOHN ADAMS.

the severest test, and was to be triumphantly vindicated by the trial. Mr. Adams began his official career with the declaration of his "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the belligerent powers of Europe."

During the summer of the year 1800 the seat of the general government was removed from Philadelphia to the new federal city of Washington, in the District of Columbia. On the 22d of November, the session of Congress was opened in the unfinished capitol of Washington.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON.

4th of March, 1801—4th of March, 1809.

The elections for President and Vice-President were held in the autumn of 1800. John Adams



was the Federalist candidate for the Presidency, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney the candidate of that party for Vice-President. The Republican or Democratic party nominated Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency, and Colonel Aaron Burr, of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. The alien and sedition laws had rendered the Federalist party so unpopular that the electors chosen at the polls failed to make a choice, and the election was thrown upon the House of Representatives, according to the terms of the Constitution.

The votes of the electoral college were for Jefferson, 73; Burr, 73; Adams, 65; Pinckney, 64; and John Jay, 1. The States that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were nine; to wit, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. Those that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney were seven; to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, and Delaware. Rhode Island cast one vote for Mr. Jay, to prevent that equality of votes on the Federal ticket, which, for the want of a like precaution, resulted on the Republican side, and which caused so much excitement and confusion. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr having received an equal number of votes, there was no election by the colleges, as the Constitution then



stood. It then devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States, to choose for President and Vice-President between Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr.

On the 17th of February, 1801, after thirty-six ballots, the House elected Thomas Jefferson President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States, for a term of four years from and after the 4th of March, 1801.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, was inaugurated at the new capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th of March, 1801. He was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been regarded as one of the most illustrious men in America. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, had represented the country as minister to France, had served in the cabinet of General Washington as Secretary of State, and had filled the high office of Vice-President during the administration of Mr. Adams. He was the founder of the Democratic party, and was regarded by it with an enthusiastic devotion which could see no flaw in his character. By the Federalists he was denounced with intense bitterness as a Jacobin, and an enemy of organized government. He was unquestionably a believer in the largest freedom possible to man; but he was too deeply versed in the lessons of statesmanship, and was too pure a patriot to entertain for a moment the levelling principles with which his ene-

mies charged him. Under him the government of the republic suffered no diminution of strength, but his administration was a gain to the country.

Mr. Jefferson began his administration by seeking to undo as far as possible the evil effects of the sedition act of 1798. A number of persons were in prison in consequence of sentences under this act at the time of his inauguration. These were at once pardoned by the President and released from prison.

At the meeting of the seventh Congress, in December, 1801, President Jefferson, in pursuance of an announcement made some time before, inaugurated the custom which has since prevailed of sending a written message to each House of Congress, giving his views on public affairs and the situation of the country. Previous to this the President had always met the two Houses upon their assembling, and had addressed them in person.

In the fall of 1804 the fifth Presidential election was held. The Republicans, or Democrats, voted for Mr. Jefferson for the office of President; this time Mr. Burr was dropped by his party, who nominated George Clinton, of New York, for Vice-President in his place. The Federals supported Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result was one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clinton, and fourteen only for

Mr. Pinckney and Mr. King. By States the vote stood: fifteen for the Democratic or Republican ticket, and only two States for the Federal. These two were Connecticut and Delaware. So popular was Mr. Jefferson's Administration, that the centralizing party, styling itself "Federal," had become almost extinct. He was inaugurated for a second term on the 4th of March, 1805.

Aaron Burr had at last experienced the reward of his insincerity: both parties had come to distrust him. After his defeat for the Vice-Presidency he had been nominated by his party as their candidate for governor of New York. He was warmly opposed by Alexander Hamilton, who was mainly instrumental in bringing about his defeat. Burr never forgave Hamilton for his course in this election, and took advantage of the first opportunity to challenge him to a duel. They met at Weehawken, on the banks of the Hudson opposite New York, on the 11th of July, 1804. Hamilton, who had accepted the challenge in opposition to his better judgment, and who had expressed his intention not to fire at Burr, was mortally wounded, and died within twenty-four hours. In him perished one of the brightest intellects and most earnest patriots of the republic. His loss was regarded as second only to that of Washington, and the sad news of his death was received in all parts of the country with profound and unaffected sorrow.

The murder of Hamilton, for it was nothing else, closed Burr's political career. His remaining years were passed in restless intrigue.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

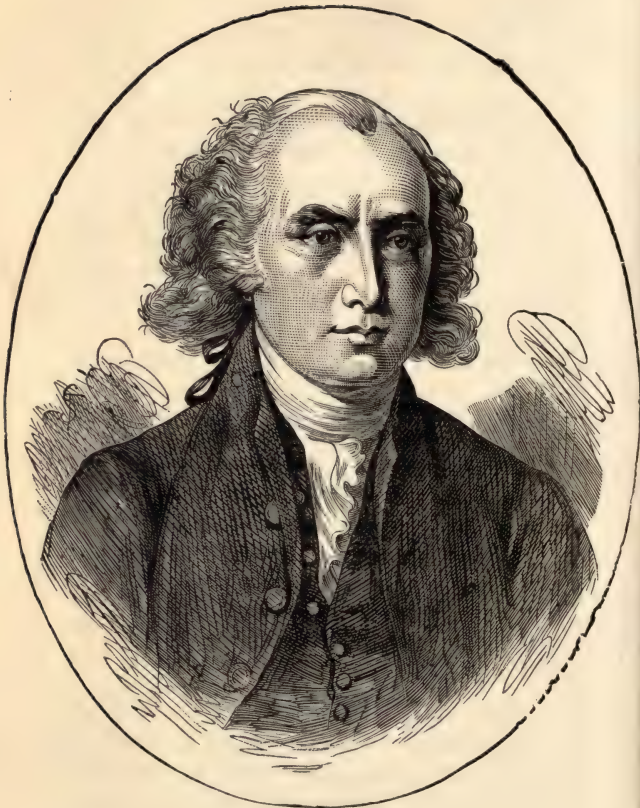
4th of March, 1809—4th of March, 1817.

In the election of 1808 Mr. Jefferson, following the example of President Washington, declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democratic or administration party supported James Madison for the Presidency, and George Clinton for the Vice-Presidency. The Federal party again nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result of the election was, 122 electoral votes for Madison and 47 for Pinckney, for President, and 113 for Clinton and 47 for King for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 12 for the Democratic ticket, and 5 for the Federal. These five were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1809. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and had long been one of the most prominent men in the Union. He had borne a distinguished part in the convention of 1787, and was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1786, which brought about the assembling of this con-

vention. He had entered the convention as one of the most prominent leaders of the national party, which favored the consolidation of the States into one distinct and supreme nation, and had acted with Randolph, Hamilton, Wilson, Morris, and King, in seeking to bring about such a result. When it was found impossible to carry out this plan Mr. Madison gave his cordial support to the system which was finally adopted by the convention; and while the constitution was under discussion by the States, he united with Hamilton and Jay in earnestly recommending the adoption of the constitution by the States, in a series of able articles, to which the general title of the "Federalist" was given. After the organization of the government Mr. Madison was a member of the House of Representatives, and was regarded as one of the leaders of the Federalist party, and gave to Hamilton his cordial support in the finance measures of that minister. Towards the close of Washington's administration, however, Mr. Madison's political views underwent a great change. He was a near neighbor and warm friend of Mr. Jefferson, and was greatly influenced by the opinions and the strong personal character of that great statesman. As the political controversies of the time deepened, he became more and more inclined towards the Republican or "Strict Construction" party, and in Mr. Adams' administration took his position as one of the leaders of that party. At





JAMES MADISON.



the time of his election to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson having withdrawn from public life, Mr. Madison was the recognized leader of the Democratic party, as the Republican party had come to be called.

In 1812 Mr. Madison was again nominated for President by the Democratic party, and Elbridge Gerry, of Connecticut, for Vice-President. De Witt Clinton, of New York, was supported by the anti-administration or old Federal party for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Mr. Madison received 128 electoral votes for President, and Mr. Clinton 89. Mr. Gerry received 131 for Vice-President, and Mr. Ingersoll 86. By States, the vote stood: For the regular Democratic candidates, 11; and for the Opposition candidates, 7. The eleven States that voted for Mr. Madison were: Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana; and the seven that voted for Mr. Clinton were: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Mr. Madison was inaugurated President for a second time, on the 4th of March, 1813. The most distinguishing feature of his administration was the war with Great Britain. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or the policy of that war, or of its general conduct, the result unques-

tionably added greatly to the public character of the United States in the estimation of foreign powers. The price at which this had been purchased was in round numbers about one hundred million dollars in public expenditures, and the loss of about thirty thousand men, including those who fell in battle as well as those who died of disease contracted in the service. At the close of his term Mr. Madison retired from office, leaving the country at peace with the world, and rapidly recovering from the injurious effects of the late war. He returned to his home at Montpelier, Virginia, where he enjoyed the society of his friends and the general esteem of his countrymen.

### ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

4th of March, 1817 -- 4th of March, 1825.

The eighth presidential election took place in the fall of 1816. Mr. Madison having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, for President; Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for Vice-President, and elected them by large majorities over the Federal candidates, who were: For President, Rufus King, of New York; for Vice-President, John Howard, of Maryland. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was 183 for Mr. Monroe, and 34 for Mr. King, for President; 183 for Mr. Tompkins, and 22 for Mr. Howard, for Vice-President. The vote by States at this election



JAMES MONROE.

stood: 16 for the Democratic, and 3 for the Federal candidates. The 16 States that voted for Mr. Monroe and Mr. Tompkins were: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, and Indiana. The 3 that voted for Mr. King were: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His inaugural address gave general satisfaction to all parties. His cabinet were: John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of War; William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General; Smith Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy. These were all men of distinguished ability, and thoroughly identified with the Democratic party at the time.

In the fall of 1820 Mr. Monroe and Governor Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Monroe received at the polls a majority of the votes of every State in the Union, and every electoral vote but one. The electoral college of New Hampshire cast one vote for John Quincy Adams.

The 4th of March this year coming on Sunday,

Mr. Monroe was inaugurated for the second term on the succeeding day, Monday, the 5th of that month.

Monroe's election had been so nearly unanimous, and party divisions had nominally so far disappeared, that his administration is commonly called the era of good feeling. In reality there was as much bad feeling between the Strict Constructionists and the Loose Constructionists of his party as could have existed between two opposing parties. The want of regularly organized parties had only the effect of making the next Presidential election a personal instead of a party contest, the worst form a political struggle can take.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

4th of March, 1825—4th of March, 1829.

In the fall of 1824 the presidential election was held amid great political excitement. The "era of good feeling" was at an end, and party spirit ran high. There were four candidates in the field, Mr. Monroe having declined a third term; Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay. None of these received a popular majority, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives in Congress, and resulted in the choice of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, as President of the United States.

The result of the electoral vote was 99 for Andrew Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for William H. Crawford, and 37 for Henry Clay, for President; and 182 for John C. Calhoun for Vice-President, with some scattering votes for others. The States that voted for Gen. Jackson were: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama—eleven in all. Those which voted for John Quincy Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New York—seven in all. Those that voted for Mr. Crawford were: Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia. While those that voted for Mr. Clay were: Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri.

Mr. Calhoun, having received a large majority of the electoral votes, was duly declared elected Vice-President; but neither of the candidates for President having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral Colleges, the choice, under the Constitution, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States. This choice was made on the 9th of February, 1825; when, upon counting the ballots, it was found that John Quincy Adams received the votes of thirteen States, Andrew Jackson the votes of seven States, and Mr. Crawford the votes of four States. Mr. Adams having received the votes of a majority of the States was declared elected to succeed Mr. Monroe.



This election produced great discontent throughout the country, and most seriously affected the popularity of Mr. Clay, as the election of Mr. Adams was attributed mainly to his agency, which had been exerted, as was supposed by many, with a view to defeat the election of Gen. Jackson,



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

who by the returns of the electoral vote seemed to stand highest in the popular favor.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated President of the United States. He was the son of John Adams, the second President of the republic, and was in his fifty-eighth

year. He was a man of great natural ability, of strong personal character, and of unbending integrity. He had been carefully educated, and was one of the most learned men in the Union. Apart from his general education he had received a special training in statesmanship. He had served as minister to the Netherlands, and in the same capacity at the courts of Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and England, where he had maintained a high reputation. He had represented the State of Massachusetts in the Federal Senate, and had been secretary of state, in the cabinet of Mr. Monroe, during the last administration. He was, therefore, thoroughly qualified for the duties of the high office upon which he now entered. He called to his cabinet men of marked ability, at the head of which was Henry Clay, who became secretary of state. The administration of Mr. Adams was one of remarkable prosperity. The country was growing wealthier by the rapid increase of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and abroad it commanded the respect of the world. Still party spirit raged with great violence during the whole of this period.

During Mr. Adams' administration the tariff question again engaged the attention of the country. The manufacturing interests were still struggling against foreign competition, and it was the opinion of the Eastern and Middle States that the general government should protect them by the imposition

of high duties upon products of foreign countries imported into the Union. The South was almost a unit in its opposition to a high tariff. Being, as we have said, an agricultural section, its interests demanded a free market, and it wished to avail itself of the privilege of purchasing where it could buy cheapest. The South and the West were the markets of the East, and the interests of that section demanded the exclusion of foreign competition in supplying these markets.

In July, 1827, a convention of manufacturers was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and a memorial was adopted praying Congress to increase the duties on foreign goods to an extent which would protect American industry. When Congress met in December, 1827, the protective policy was the most important topic of the day. It was warmly discussed in Congress and throughout the country. The interests of New England were championed by the matchless eloquence of Daniel Webster, who claimed that as the adoption of the protective policy by the government had forced New England to turn her energies to manufactures, the government was bound to protect her against competition. The Southern representatives argued that a protective tariff was unconstitutional, and was injurious in its operations to the interests of the people of the Southern States, who, being producers of staples for export, ought to have liberty to purchase such articles as they needed

wherever they could find them cheapest. They declared that duties under the protective policy were not only bounties to manufacturers, but a heavy tax levied upon their constituents and a great majority of the consumers in all the States, which never went into the public treasury. The tariff bill was passed by the House on the 15th of April, 1828, and was approved by the President a little later. It was termed by its opponents the "Bill of Abominations."

In the midst of this excitement the presidential election occurred. Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election. The contest between the two parties, the Administration and Opposition, over the powers and limitations of the Federal Government, became almost as hot and fierce as it was in 1800, between the Federalists and Republicans of that day. General Jackson, without any caucus nomination, was supported by the Opposition everywhere for President, and Mr. Calhoun for Vice-President. The friends of the Administration put forth the utmost of their exertions for the re-election of Mr. Adams to the office of President, and Richard Rush to the office of Vice-President. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was, 178 for Jackson, and 83 for Adams; 171 for Mr. Calhoun, and 83 for Mr. Rush. The vote for President by States stood: 15 for Jackson and 9 for Adams. The 15 States that voted for Jackson were: New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North

Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 9 that voted for Mr. Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

## ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

March 4th, 1829—March 4th, 1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington, on the 4th of March, 1829.

President Jackson was in many respects one of the most remarkable men of his day. He possessed a combination of qualities seldom met with in any one person. Education had done but little for him; but by nature he was fitted for the government of men both in the field and in the Cabinet. During the Administration of the elder Adams he had occupied a seat in the United States Senate from Tennessee, and gave a most cordial support to the principles of Mr. Jefferson. Resigning his place in that body, he was afterwards elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court of his State. His military achievements in the wars against the Creek and Seminole Indians, and his victory over the British at New Orleans, have been fully recorded.

The election of General Jackson to the Presi-



ANDREW JACKSON.



dency was regarded with some anxiety, for though his merits as a soldier were conceded, it was feared by many that his known imperiousness of will and his inflexibility of purpose would seriously disqualify him for the delicate duties of the Presidency. Nature had made him a ruler, however, and his administration was marked by the fearless energy that characterized every act of his life, and was on the whole successful and satisfactory to the great majority of his countrymen.

General Jackson began his administration by appointing a new cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Secretary of State. Until now the postmaster-general had not been regarded as a cabinet officer. General Jackson invited that officer to a seat in his cabinet and a share in its deliberations, and his course has been pursued by all of his successors.

Early in 1831, the question of the Presidential succession was agitated. The Legislature of Pennsylvania put General Jackson in nomination for re-election, he having consented to be a candidate.

The election took place in the fall of 1832. General Jackson was supported for the Presidency by the Democratic party, and Mr. Clay by the Whig party. The contest was marked by intense bitterness, for Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States, his other vetoes of public improvement bills, and his attitude in the "Nullification" controversy between the United

States and South Carolina, had created a strong opposition to him in all parts of the country. In spite of this opposition he was re-elected by a triumphant majority, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic nominee, was chosen Vice-President.

The following electoral votes were cast for the respective candidates: for Jackson, 219; for Clay, 49; and for Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate, 7 votes. For Vice-President, the electoral votes stood: for Martin Van Buren, 189; for John Sergeant, 49; for Amos Ellmaker, 7. The vote by States for the candidates for the Presidency stood: 16 for Jackson; 6 for Clay; and 1 for Wirt. The 16 States that voted for Jackson were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 6 States that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky; the State that voted for Mr. Wirt was: Vermont; South Carolina cast her vote for John Floyd, of Virginia, for President, and Henry Lee, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

President Jackson was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1833.

In the meantime serious trouble had arisen between the general government and the State of South Carolina. During the year 1832 the tariff

was revised by Congress, and that body, instead of diminishing the duties, increased many of them. This action gave great offence to the Southern States, which regarded the denial of free trade as a great wrong to them. They were willing to submit to a tariff sufficient for a revenue, but were utterly opposed to a protective tariff for the reasons we have already stated.

The State of South Carolina resolved to "nullify" the law within its own limits. A convention of the people of the State was held, which adopted a measure known as the "Nullification Ordinance." This ordinance declared that the tariff act of 1832, being based upon the principle of protection, and not upon the principle of raising revenue, was unconstitutional, and was therefore null and void. This ordinance was to take effect on the 12th of February, 1833, unless in the meantime the general government should abandon its policy of protection and return to a tariff for revenue only.

The country at large was utterly opposed to the course of South Carolina, and denied its right to nullify a law of Congress, or to withdraw from the Union in support of this right. Intense excitement prevailed, and the course of the President was watched with the gravest anxiety. He was known to be opposed to the protective policy; but it was generally believed that he was firm in his intention to enforce the laws, however he might disapprove of them.

President Jackson took measures promptly to enforce the law. He ordered a large body of troops to assemble at Charleston, under General Scott, and a ship of war was sent to that port to assist the federal officers in collecting the duties on imports. Civil war seemed for a time inevitable. The President was firmly resolved to compel the submission of South Carolina, and the issue of such a conflict could not be doubtful.

Fortunately a peaceful settlement of the trouble was effected. Mr. Verplanck, of New York, a supporter of the administration, introduced a bill into Congress for a reduction of the tariff, and the State of Virginia sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a distinguished citizen, as commissioner to South Carolina, to urge her to suspend the execution of her ordinance until March 4th, as there was a probability that a peaceful settlement of the difficulty would be arranged before that time. South Carolina consented to be guided by this appeal.

Henry Clay, with his usual patriotic self-sacrifice, now came forward in the Senate with a compromise which he hoped would put an end to the trouble. He introduced a bill providing for the gradual reduction in ten years of all duties then above the revenue standard. "One-tenth of one-half of all the duties for protection above that standard was to be taken off annually for ten years, at the end of which period the whole of the other half was to be taken off, and thereafter all duties were to be

levied mainly with a view to revenue and not for protection." This measure with some modifications was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and was approved by the President on the 2d of March, 1833. The people of South Carolina rescinded their "Nullification Ordinance," and the trouble was fortunately brought to an end.

The Administration of Gen.<sup>l</sup> Jackson was distinguished for many acts of foreign as well as domestic policy which cannot be embraced in this brief sketch. Taken all together, it made a deep and lasting impression upon the policy and history of the States. On his retirement, following the example of Washington, he issued a Farewell Address, in which he evinced the most ardent patriotism and the most earnest devotion to the cause of constitutional liberty.

The presidential election was held in the fall of 1836. General Jackson having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party supported Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren was elected; but the electors having failed to make a choice of a candidate for Vice-President, that task devolved upon the Senate, which elected Colonel Richard M. Johnson by a majority of seventeen votes.

The electoral votes cast for the several candidates for President were as follows: 170 for Martin Van Buren, 14 for Daniel Webster, 73 for

William Henry Harrison, 11 for W. P. Mangum, of N. C., and 26 for H. L. White, of Tennessee. Mr. Van Buren, having received a majority, was duly declared President for the next term. The vote by States in this election was: 15 for Mr. Van Buren, 7 for General Harrison, 2 for Mr. White, and 1 for Mr. Webster. The 15 States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the 7 that voted for General Harrison were: Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana; the 2 that voted for Mr. White were: Georgia and Tennessee; the one State that voted for Mr. Webster was Massachusetts.

The votes of the Electoral Colleges for Vice President were: 147 for Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; 77 for Francis Granger, of New York; 47 for John Tyler, of Virginia; and 23 for William Smith, of Alabama. Neither of the candidates for Vice-President having received a majority of the votes, the choice of that officer devolved upon the Senate, and that body elected Col. Johnson by a vote of 33, against 16 for Mr. Granger.

## ADMINISTRATION OF VAN BUREN.

4th of March, 1837—4th of March, 1841.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President of the



United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, in the 55th year of his age. "At high noon the President elect took his seat, with his venerable predecessor, General Jackson, in a carriage, made from the wood of the frigate *Constitution*, presented to General Jackson by the Democracy of the city of New York. In this from the White House they proceeded to the Capitol. After reaching the Senate Chamber Mr. Van Buren, attended by the ex-President, and the members of the Senate, led the way to the rostrum, where the Inaugural Address was delivered in clear and impressive tones. At the close of the Address the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney."

In the Address Mr. Van Buren indicated his purpose, on all matters of public policy, to follow in the "footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

A distinguished writer, in speaking of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, as a whole, says:

"The great event of General Jackson's Administration was the contest with the Bank of the United States, and its destruction as a Federal institution—that of Madison's was the war—while Jefferson's was a general revolution of the anti-Democratic spirit and policy of the preceding Administration. The great event of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, is, the divorce of Bank and State in the fiscal affairs of the Federal Gov-



MARTIN VAN BUREN

ernment, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the Constitution."

In the fall of 1840 another Presidential election was held. Mr. Van Buren and Vice-President Johnson were nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, and the Whigs supported General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The financial distress of the country which had been very great since 1837, was generally attributed by the people to the interference of the government with the currency. This feeling made the Democratic nominees exceedingly unpopular, and the political campaign was one of the most exciting ever conducted in this country.

The principal issues in this contest were the sub-treasury system, extravagant appropriations, defalcations, and profligacy of numerous subordinate officers. The "gold spoons" furnished the Executive Mansion figured prominently in the canvass. All the opposing elements united under the Whig banner. This party held a general convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the 4th of December, 1839, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. It was generally supposed that Mr. Clay would receive the nomination of this body for President. But his course on the Tariff Compromise of 1833 had greatly weakened him with the Protectionists.

When he adopted that course he was told it would lose him the Presidency. His reply at the time was, "I would rather be right than be President." The Democratic party held their general convention in Baltimore on the 5th of May, 1840. Log-cabins and hard cider, which were supposed to be typical of Harrison's frontier life, became very popular with the Whigs. The result of the election, after a heated canvass, was 234 electoral votes for Harrison for President, and 234 for John Tyler for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren received 60 electoral votes for President; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, received 48 for Vice-President; Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, 11, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, 1. The vote for President by States stood 19 for General Harrison and 7 for Mr. Van Buren. The seven States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, and Arkansas.

## **ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER.**

4th of March, 1841—4th of March, 1845.

William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The city of Washington was thronged with people, many of whom were from the most distant States

of the Union. A procession was formed from his hotel quarters to the capitol. The President-elect was mounted upon a white charger, accompanied by several personal friends, but his immediate escort were the officers and soldiers who had fought under him. The inaugural address was delivered on a



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

platform erected over the front steps of the portico of the east front of the capitol. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, before an audience estimated at 60,000 people.

He was a man of pure life and earnest character, and the certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the federal government had caused

the people of the country to look forward to his administration with hope and confidence. He began by calling to seats in his cabinet men of prominence and ability. At the head of the cabinet he placed Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. The President was not destined to fulfil the hopes of his friends. He was suddenly attacked with pneumonia, and died on the 4th of April—just one month after his inauguration.

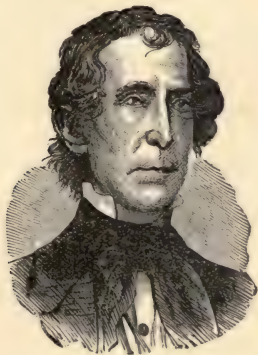
It was the first time that a President of the United States had died in office, and a gloom was cast over the nation by the sad event. The mourning of the people was sincere, for in General Harrison the nation lost a faithful, upright, and able leader. He had spent forty years in prominent public positions, and had discharged every duty confided to him with ability and integrity, and went to his grave a poor man.

The office of President now, for the first time, devolved upon the Vice-President, John Tyler, who, by the death of General Harrison, became the tenth President of the United States. He was not in the City of Washington at the time of the death of his predecessor, but repaired to that city without loss of time, upon being notified of the death of General Harrison, and on the 6th of April took the oath of office before Judge Cranch, Chief-Justice of the District of Columbia. Mr. Tyler was in his fifty-second year, and had served as governor of Virginia, and as representative and senator in Congress from



that State. On the 9th of April President Tyler issued an address to the people of the United States, in which there was no indication of a departure from the policy announced in the inaugural of General Harrison. He retained the cabinet ministers of his predecessors in their respective positions.

The last years of Mr. Tyler's administration were devoted to the effort to secure the annexation



JOHN TYLER.

of the republic of Texas to the United States. The territory embraced within the limits of Texas constituted a part of the Spanish-American possessions, and was generally regarded as a part of Mexico.

In April, 1844, Texas formally applied for admission into the United States, and a treaty for that purpose was negotiated with her by the gov-

ernment of this country. It was rejected by the Senate.

In the fall of 1844 the presidential election took place. The leading political question of the day was the annexation of Texas. It was advocated by the administration of President Tyler and by the Democratic party. This party also made the claim of the United States to Oregon one of the leading issues of the campaign. Its candidates were James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania. The Whig party supported Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and opposed the annexation of Texas.

During this campaign, which was one of unusual excitement, the Anti-slavery party made its appearance for the first time as a distinct political organization, and nominated James G. Birney as its candidate for the Presidency.

The result of the campaign was a decisive victory for the Democrats. This success was generally regarded as an emphatic expression of the popular will respecting the Texas and Oregon questions.

The result of the election by the colleges was: 170 electoral votes for James K. Polk, for President, and 170 for George M. Dallas, for Vice-President; 105 for Henry Clay, for President, and 105 for Theodore Frelinghuysen, for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 15 for the Democratic ticket, and 11 for the Whig ticket. Mr. Birney

received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that, out of the popular vote of upwards of two and a half millions, there were polled for him only 64,653. The fifteen States that voted for Mr. Polk were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the eleven that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

After the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Tyler retired from the seat of Government to his residence in Virginia. His administration was a stormy one, but signalized by many important events. It was during this period that the electro-telegraphic system was established by Morse. A room was furnished him at the Capitol for his experimental operations in extending his wires to Baltimore; and among the first messages ever transmitted over them was the announcement of the nomination of Mr. Polk for the Presidency.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

4th of March, 1845—4th of March, 1849.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845, in the 50th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice

Taney, in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens. In his inaugural, the new President spoke favorably of the late action of Congress in relation to Texas, and asserted that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was clear and indisputable, and intimated his intention to maintain it by force if necessary.



JAMES K. POLK.

The new cabinet consisted of James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee,

Postmaster-General; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

President Polk had served the country as governor of the State of Tennessee, and for fourteen years had been a member of Congress from that State, and had been chosen speaker of that body. Two important questions presented themselves to the new administration for settlement: the troubles with Mexico growing out of the annexation of Texas, and the arrangement of the northwestern boundary of the United States.

During the Presidential campaign of 1844 the Democratic party adopted as its watchword, "all of Oregon or none," and the excitement upon the question ran high. The election of Mr. Polk showed that the American people were resolved to insist upon their claim to Oregon, and when the new President in his inaugural address took the bold ground that the American title to "Oregon territory" "was clear and indisputable," and declared his intention to maintain it at the cost of war with England, the matter assumed a serious aspect, and for a while it seemed that party passion would involve the two countries in hostilities. President Polk, upon a calmer consideration of the subject, caused the secretary of state to reopen the negotiations by proposing to Great Britain the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as a boundary, and that was finally agreed upon.

During the fall of 1848 another Presidential

election came off. The combined elements of opposition to the administration, in the main, continued to bear the name of Whigs, though the anti-slavery element now formed a distinct organization known as "Free-Soilers." The Democratic party held their General Convention at Baltimore, on the 22d of May, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and for the Vice-Presidency General William O. Butler, of Kentucky. The Whigs held their Convention at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and for the Vice-Presidency Millard Fillmore, of New York. The Free-Soilers held their Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 8th of August, and put in nomination for the Presidency Martin Van Buren, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts.

The result of the election was 163 electoral votes for the Whig ticket and 127 for the Democratic. The Free-Soil ticket received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that out of a popular vote of nearly 3,000,000, there were polled for it nearly 300,000 votes. The vote for Taylor and Fillmore by States stood 15; and for Cass and Butler 15 also. The 15 States that voted for Taylor and Fillmore were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North



Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida; the 15 that voted for Cass and Butler were Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Ohio, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Taylor and Fillmore, having received a majority of the electoral votes, were declared elected to the offices of President and Vice-President.

On the 4th of March, 1849, Mr. Polk retired to his home in Tennessee. His administration had been a stormy one. It will, however, always be distinguished in history by its eminently wise financial and revenue policy, the settlement of the Oregon question with England, and the immense acquisition of territory from Mexico. During its period also, great lustre was added to the military renown of the United States.

## ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

4th of March, 1849—4th of March, 1853

The 4th of March, 1849, coming on Sunday General Taylor was duly inaugurated as the twelfth President of the United States on the next day, Monday, the 5th of that month, in the 65th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The new President was a native of Virginia,



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

but had removed with his parents to Kentucky at an early age, and had grown up to manhood on the frontiers of that State. In 1808, at the age of twenty-four, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the army by President Jefferson, and had spent forty years in the military service of the country. His exploits in the Florida war and brilliant victories in Mexico had made him the most popular man in the United States, and had won him the high office of the Presidency at the hands of his grateful fellow-citizens. He was without political experience, but he was a man of pure and stainless integrity, of great firmness, a sincere patriot, and possessed of strong good sense. He had received a majority of the electoral votes of both the Northern and Southern States; and was free from party or sectional ties of any kind. His inaugural address was brief, and was confined to a statement of general principles. His cabinet was composed of the leaders of the Whig party, with John M. Clayton, of Delaware, as Secretary of State. The last Congress had created a new executive department—that of the interior—to relieve the secretary of the treasury of a part of his duties, and President Taylor was called upon to appoint the first secretary of the interior, which he did in the person of Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. The new department was charged with the management of the public lands, the Indian tribes, and the issuing of patents to inventors.

Since the announcement of the Wilmot Proviso, the agitation of the slavery question had been incessant, and had increased instead of diminishing with each succeeding year. It was one of the chief topics of discussion in the newspaper press of the country, and entered largely into every political controversy, however local or insignificant in its nature. The opponents of slavery regarded the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war as efforts to extend that institution, and were resolved to put an end to its existence at any cost. The advocates of slavery claimed that the Southern States had an equal right to the common property of the States, and were entitled to protection for their slaves in any of the Territories then owned by the States or that might afterwards be acquired by them. The Missouri Compromise forbade the existence of slavery north of the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and left the inhabitants south of that line free to decide upon their own institutions. The Anti-slavery party was resolved that slavery should be excluded from the territory acquired from Mexico, and in the Wilmot Proviso struck their first blow for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Upon the organization of the House President Taylor sent in his first and only message. He recognized the danger with which the sectional controversy threatened the country, expressed his views of the situation in moderate terms, and inti-



MILLARD FILLMORE.



mated that he should faithfully discharge his duties to the whole country.

About the last of June, 1850, President Taylor was stricken down with a fever, which soon terminated fatally. He died on the 9th of July amid the grief of the whole country, which felt that it had lost a faithful and upright chief magistrate. Though the successful candidate of one political party, his administration had received the earnest support of the best men of the country without regard to party, and his death was a national calamity. He had held office only sixteen months, but had shown himself equal to his difficult and delicate position.

By the terms of the Constitution the office of President devolved upon Millard Fillmore, Vice-President of the United States. On the 10th of July he took the oath of office, and at once entered upon the duties of his new position.

Mr. Fillmore was a native of New York, and was born in that State in the year 1800. He had served his State in Congress, and as governor, and was personally one of the most popular of the Presidents. The cabinet of General Taylor resigned their offices immediately after his death, and the new President filled their places by appointing a new cabinet with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State.

On the 4th of July, 1851, the corner-stone of the two new wings of the capitol was laid. Mr.



Webster delivered a speech on the occasion which was considered one of the greatest of his life. It was delivered to an immense audience, on a platform erected on the east side of the capitol. In it, among other things, he said:

“If it shall hereafter be the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base—that its foundations shall be upturned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men—be it then known that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that this Constitution still exists unimpaired, and, with all its usefulness and glory, is growing every day stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world.”

During the fall of this year (1852) another Presidential election took place.

The Democratic party nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig party nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The Anti-slavery party put in nomination John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana. The election resulted in the choice of the candidates of the Democratic party by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. King, the Vice-President elect, did not long

survive his triumph. His health had been delicate for many years, and he was obliged to pass the winter succeeding the election in Cuba. Being unable to return home, he took the oath of office before the American consul, at Havana, on the 4th of March. He then returned to the United States, and died at his home in Alabama on the 18th of April, 1853.

The result of the election was: 251 electoral votes for Pierce and King; and 42 for Scott and Graham; by States, 27 for Pierce and King, and 4 for Scott and Graham. The States which voted for General Scott were: Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The anti-slavery ticket received no electoral vote, but out of the popular vote of nearly 3,500,000, it polled 155,825 individual votes, being little over half of what it polled at the previous election.

In October, 1852, the whole country was again thrown into mourning by the announcement of the death of Mr. Webster, the last survivor of the great senatorial "trio," Clay, Calhoun and Webster.

They were regarded as the three greatest statesmen of the country in their day. They were all men of very great ability, of very different characters of mind, as well as styles of oratory. They differed also widely on many questions of public policy. But they were all true patriots in the highest sense of that term.

## ADMINISTRATION OF PIERCE.

4th of March, 1853—4th of March, 1857.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, the fourteenth President of the United States, was duly inaugurated in the 49th



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney.

General Pierce was an accomplished orator, and his inaugural address was delivered in his happiest style, in a tone of voice that was distinctly heard at a great distance. It was responded to by shouts from the surrounding multitudes.

The most important measure of Mr. Pierce's administration was the bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The region embraced in these Territories formed a part of the Louisiana purchase, and extended from the borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota to the summit of the Rocky mountains, and from the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude to the border of British America. This whole region by the terms of the Missouri Compromise had been secured to free labor by the exclusion of slavery.

The people engaged warmly in the discussion aroused by the reopening of the question of slavery in the Territories. The North resented the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in the South a large and respectable party sincerely regretted the repeal of that settlement. By the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the Thirty-third Congress assumed a grave responsibility, and opened the door to a bloody and bitter conflict in the Territories between slavery and free labor. The troubles in Kansas which followed gave rise to a new party which called itself Republican, and which was based upon an avowed hostility to the extension of slavery. A third party, called the American, or Know Nothing, also took part in the Presidential campaign of 1856, and was based upon the doctrine that the political offices of the country should be held only by persons of American birth. The Democratic party nominated James Buchanan, of

Pennsylvania, for the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican nominee for the Presidency was John C. Fremont, of California; for the Vice-Presidency William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American or Know Nothing party supported Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the Presidency, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency. The Whig party had been broken to pieces by its defeat in 1852, and had now entirely disappeared.

The canvass was unusually excited. Slavery was the principal question in dispute. Party ties had little influence upon men. The sentiment of the nation at large had been outraged by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and thousands of Democrats, desiring to rebuke their party for its course in bringing about this repeal, united with the Republican party, which declared as its leading principle that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

The elections resulted in the triumph of James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes; General Fremont 114, and Fillmore 8. The vote by States was: 19 for the Democratic ticket; 11 for the Republican, and 1 for the American. The nineteen States that voted for Mr. Buchanan were:

New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and California. The eleven that voted for Fremont were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The one that voted for Fillmore was Maryland.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

March 4th, 1857—March 4th, 1861.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the fifteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857, in the 66th year of his age, and was a statesman of ripe experience. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. His inaugural was conciliatory, and approbatory of the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill upon which he had been elected. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and was by profession a lawyer. He had served his State in Congress as a representative and a senator, had been minister to Russia under President Jackson, and had been a member of the Cabinet of President Polk, as Secretary of State. During the four years previous to his election to the Presidency, he had resided abroad as the Minister of the United States to Great Britain, and in that capae-





JAMES BUCHANAN.

ity had greatly added to his reputation as a statesman. The intense sectional feeling which the discussion of the slavery question had aroused had alarmed patriotic men in all parts of the Union, and it was earnestly hoped that Mr. Buchanan's administration would be able to effect a peaceful settlement of the quarrel. Mr. Buchanan selected his Cabinet from the leading men of the Democratic party. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was appointed Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of Interior; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. The two leading subjects which immediately engaged the attention of the new administration were the state of affairs in Utah on the one hand, and Kansas on the other.

On the night of the 16th of October, 1859, John Brown, who had acquired a considerable notoriety as the leader of a Free Soil company during the war in Kansas, entered the State of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, with a party of twenty-one men, and seized the United States arsenal at that place. He then sent out parties to induce the negro slaves to join him, his avowed object being to put an end to slavery in Virginia by exciting an insurrection of the slaves. Several citizens were kidnapped by

these parties, but the slaves refused to join Brown, or to take any part in the insurrection.

The effect of Brown's attempt upon the Southern people was most unfortunate. They regarded it as unanswerable evidence of the intention of the people of the North to make war upon them under the cover of the Union. The John Brown raid was the most powerful argument that had ever been placed in the hands of the disunionists, and in the alarm and excitement produced by that event, the Southern people lost sight of the fact that the great mass of the Northern people sincerely deplored and condemned the action of Brown and his supporters.

While the excitement was at its height the Presidential campaign opened in the spring of 1860. The slavery question was the chief issue in this struggle. The Convention of the Democratic party met at Charleston, in April, but being unable to effect an organization, adjourned to Baltimore, and reassembled in that city in June. The extreme Southern delegates were resolved that the convention should be committed to the protection of slavery in the Territories by Congress, and failing to control it withdrew from it in a body, and organized a separate convention, which they declared represented the Democratic party, but which, in reality, as the vote subsequently proved, represented but a minority of that party.

The original convention, after the withdrawal

of these delegates, nominated for the Presidency Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and for the Vice-Presidency Herschell V. Johnson, of Georgia. It then proceeded to adopt the platform put forward by the entire party four years before, at Cincinnati, upon the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, with this additional declaration: "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories, . . . the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

The "Seceders' Convention," as it was commonly called, also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and pledged themselves to non-interference by Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia. This party held to the doctrine that the Constitution recognized slavery as existing in the Territories, and sanctioned and protected it there, and that neither Congress nor the people of the Territories could frame any law against slavery until the admission of such Territories into the Union as States. The "Seceders' Convention" put forward as its candidate for the Presidency John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and for the Vice-Presidency Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

The Republican party took issue with both wings

of the Democratic party. Its convention was held at Chicago, Illinois, and its candidates were, for President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and for Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. The platform of principles adopted by the Republican Convention declared that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions. . . . That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

A fourth party, known as the "American or Constitutional Union Party," proclaimed as its platform the following vague sentence: "The constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." The convention of this party met at Baltimore, and nominated for the Presidency John Bell, of Tennessee, and for the Vice-Presidency Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

The contest between these parties was bitter beyond all precedent, and resulted as follows:

Popular vote for Lincoln,	.	1,866,452
“ “ Douglas,	.	1,375,157
“ “ Breckinridge,		847,953
“ “ Bell,	.	590,631

The electoral vote stood as follows: For Lincoln, 180; for Breckinridge, 72; for Bell, 39; for Douglas- 12.

Mr. Lincoln was thus elected by a plurality of the popular vote, which secured for him the electoral votes of eighteen States. These States were entirely north of the sectional line, and he received not a single electoral vote from a Southern State. The States which cast their electoral votes for Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas, were entirely slaveholding. The division thus made was alarming. It was the first time in the history of the republic that a President had been elected by the votes of a single section of the Union.

The eighteen States that voted for Mr. Lincoln, under the plurality count of the popular vote, were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon. The eleven that voted for Mr. Breckinridge were: Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas. The three that so voted for Mr. Bell were: Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and the one that so voted for Mr. Douglas was Missouri. Mr. Lincoln did not receive the majority of the popular vote in but sixteen of the thirty-three States then constituting the Union; so he had been constitutionally elected, without having received a majority of the popular vote of the States or of the people.



## ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 4th, 1861—April 15th, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the sixteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1861. As it was feared that an attempt would be made to prevent the inauguration, the city was held by a strong body of regular troops, under General Scott, and the President elect was escorted from his hotel to the capitol by a military force. No effort was made to interfere with the ceremonies, and the inauguration passed off quietly.

The new President was in his fifty-third year and was a native of Kentucky. When he was but eight years old his father removed to Indiana, and the boyhood of the future President was spent in hard labor upon the farm. Until he reached manhood he continued to lead this life, and during this entire period attended school for only a year. At the age of twenty-one he removed to Illinois, where he began life as a storekeeper. Being anxious to rise above his humble position, he determined to study law. He was too poor to buy the necessary books, and so borrowed them from a neighboring lawyer, read them at night, and returned them in the morning. His genial character, great good nature, and love of humor, won him

the friendship of the people among whom he resided, and they elected him to the lower house of the legislature of Illinois. He now abandoned his mercantile pursuits, and began the practice of the law, and was subsequently elected a representative



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

to Congress from the Springfield district. He took an active part in the politics of his State, and in 1858 was the candidate of the Republican party for United States senator. In this capacity he engaged in a series of debates in various parts of the

State with Senator Douglas, the Democratic candidate for re-election to the same position. This debate was remarkable for its brilliancy and intellectual vigor, and brought him prominently before the whole country, and opened the way to his nomination for the Presidency. In person he was tall and ungainly, and in manner he was rough and awkward, little versed in the refinements of society. He was a man, however, of great natural vigor of intellect, and was possessed of a fund of strong common sense, which enabled him to see at a glance through the shams by which he was surrounded, and to pursue his own aims with singleness of heart and directness of purpose. He had sprung from the ranks of the people, and he was never false to them. He was a simple, unaffected, kind-hearted man; anxious to do his duty to the whole country; domestic in his tastes and habits; and incorruptible in every relation of life. He was fond of humor, and overflowed with it; finding in his "little stories" the only relaxation he ever sought from the heavy cares of the trying position upon which he was now entering. He selected his cabinet from the leading men of the Republican party, and placed William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the

**Interior**; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, **Postmaster-General**; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, **Attorney-General**.

The Great Civil War was the all-important event of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

In 1864 the next Presidential election was held. The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore, June 7, and adopted a platform declaring war upon slavery, and demanding that no terms but unconditional surrender should be given to the rebellious States. It nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The latter was a United States Senator when his State allied itself to the Confederacy. He, however, continued to hold his seat, and was the only Senator from any of the States, who did so after the withdrawal of their States from the Federal Union.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago August 29, and nominated for the Presidency General George B. McClellan, of the Federal army, and for the Vice-Presidency, George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. The result was Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson carried the electoral votes of every State except three, to wit: New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky; of the popular vote the Democratic ticket received 1,802,237, against 2,213,665 cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

**Abraham Lincoln** having been duly elected was

inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1865. On the night of April 14th, President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre in Washington City, by John Wilkes Booth.

## ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

15th of April, 1865—4th of March, 1869.

Upon the death of Mr. Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, by the terms of the Constitution, became President of the United States. He took the oath of office on the 15th of April, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. His first act was to retain all the members of the Cabinet appointed by Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Johnson was a native of North Carolina, having been born in Raleigh, on the 29th of December, 1808. At the age of ten he was bound as an apprentice to a tailor of that city. He was at this time unable to read or write. Some years later, being determined to acquire an education, he learned the alphabet from a fellow-workman, and a friend taught him spelling. He was soon able to read, and pursued his studies steadily, working ten or twelve hours a day at his trade, and studying two or three more. In 1826 he removed to Greenville, Tennessee. He was subsequently chosen alderman of his town, and with this election entered upon his political career. Studying law he abandoned tailoring, and devoted himself to legal pursuits and politics. He was



ANDREW JOHNSON.



successively chosen Mayor, Member of the Legislature, Presidential elector, and State Senator. He was twice elected Governor of Tennessee, and three times a Senator of the United States from that State. Upon the secession of Tennessee from the Union, he refused to relinquish his seat in the Senate, and remained faithful to the cause of the Union throughout the war, winning considerable reputation during the struggle by his services in behalf of the national cause. He was an earnest, honest-hearted man, who sincerely desired to do his duty to the country. His mistakes were due to his temperament, and proceeded from no desire to serve his own interests or those of any party. In his public life he was incorruptible. A man of ardent nature, strong convictions, and indomitable will, it was not possible that he should avoid errors, or fail to stir up a warm and determined opposition to his policy.

The first duty devolving upon the new administration was the disbanding of the army, which at the close of the war numbered over a million of men. It was prophesied by foreign nations and feared by many persons at home, that the sudden return of such a large body of men to the pursuits of civil life would be attended with serious evils, but both the Union and the Confederate soldiers went back quietly and readily to their old avocations. Thus did these citizen-soldiers give to the world a splendid exhibition of the triumph of law

and order in a free country, and a proof of the stability of our institutions.

The restoration of the Southern States to their places in the Union was the most important work of Mr. Johnson's administration.

In the fall of 1868 another Presidential election was held. The Republican party nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic party nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Presidency, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency. The election resulted in the choice of General Grant by a popular vote of 2,985,031 to 2,648,830 votes cast for Mr. Seymour. In the electoral college Grant received 217 votes and Seymour 77. The States of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were not allowed to take part in this election, being still out of the Union.

## ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

4th of March, 1869—4th of March, 1877.

Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington with imposing ceremonies on the 4th of March, 1869. He was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. His father was a tanner, and wished him to follow his trade, but the boy **had** more ambitious hopes, and at the age of seven-

teen a friend secured for him an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he was educated. Upon graduating he entered the army. Two years later he was sent to Mexico, and served through the war with that country with **distinc-**



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

tion. He was specially noticed by his **comman-**ders, and was promoted for gallant conduct. Soon after the close of the war he resigned his commission, and remained in civil life and obscurity until the breaking out of the civil war, when he volun-

teered his services, and was commissioned by Governor Yates Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois regiment. He was soon made a Brigadier-General, and fought his first battle at Belmont. His subsequent career has been related in all histories of the Great Civil War. He selected the members of his Cabinet more because of his personal friendship for them than for their weight and influence in the party that had elected him.

General Grant was the fifth President whose military achievements had contributed more to his election to this high office than any services rendered in the civil departments of the government. His inaugural, delivered before an immense crowd of enthusiastic admirers, on the east portico of the capitol, was brief and pointed. He was no orator, and his address on this occasion was rehearsed from a manuscript before him. It might be characterized as a good specimen of the "*multum in parvo*." He said "he should have no policy of his own, except to carry out the will of the people, as expressed by the legislative department, and expounded by the judiciary. Laws," said he, "are to govern all alike, those opposed, as well as those who favor them. I know of no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution." The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

His cabinet consisted at first of Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander

T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; John D. Rawlins, of Illinois, who had been his chief of staff from the beginning of the great war until its termination, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Several changes in the cabinet were afterwards made, the most notable of which were George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury, instead of Alexander T. Stewart, the famous merchant of New York. Soon after the confirmation of the latter by the Senate, it was ascertained that he was ineligible under the law, because of his being engaged in commerce. Mr. Washburne also gave up his place to accept the position of Minister to France, and the vacant Secretaryship of the State Department was given to Hamilton Fish of New York.

The President on the 20th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation announcing that the Fifteenth Amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, and therefore declared it to be part of the Constitution of the United States.

In the fall of 1872, another presidential election occurred. The canvass was marked by the most intense partisan bitterness. The Republican party renominated General Grant for the presidency, and

supported Henry Wilson for the vice-presidency. The measures of the administration had arrayed a large number of Republicans against it. These now organized themselves as the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for the presidency, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for the vice-presidency. The Democratic party made no nominations, and its convention indorsed the candidates of the Liberal Republican party. The election resulted in the triumph of the Republican candidates by overwhelming majorities.

The elections were scarcely over when the country was saddened by the death of Horace Greeley. He had been one of the founders of the Republican party, and had been closely identified with the political history of the country for over thirty years. He was the "Founder of the New York *Tribune*," and had done good service with his journal in behalf of the cause he believed to be founded in right. He was a man of simple and childlike character, utterly unaffected, and generous to a fault. In his manner and dress he was eccentric, but nature had made him a true gentleman at heart. His intellectual ability was conceded by all. His experience in public life and his natural disposition induced him to favor a policy of conciliation in the settlement of the reconstruction question, and, influenced by these convictions, he signed the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis and secured the release of the fallen leader of the South from his



imprisonment. This act cost him a large part of his popularity in the North. He accepted the presidential nomination of the Liberal party in the belief that his election would aid in bringing about a better state of feeling between the North and the South. He was attacked by his political opponents with a bitterness which caused him much suffering, and many of his old friends deserted him and joined in the warfare upon him. Just before the close of the canvass, his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, died, and his grief for her and the excitement caused by the political contest broke him down and unsettled his mind. He was conveyed by his friends to a private asylum, where he died on the 29th of November, 1872, in the sixty-second year of his age. The result of the election by States was 286 electoral votes for Grant, for President, 286 for Wilson, for Vice-President, and 47 for B. Gratz Brown, for Vice-President.

Mr. Greeley having died soon after the election, and before the meeting of the Electoral Colleges, the electoral votes that he carried at the popular election (only 65) were cast in the colleges for a number of persons whose names had never been connected with the office.

The votes by States for Grant were Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New

Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Vermont, Wisconsin—29. Those casting electoral votes against Grant were Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas—6. The electoral votes of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted.

On the 4th day of July, 1876, the United States of America completed the one hundredth year of their existence as an independent nation. The day was celebrated with imposing ceremonies and with the most patriotic enthusiasm in all parts of the Union. The celebrations began on the night of the 3d of July, and were kept up until midnight on the 4th. Each of the great cities of the Union vied with the others in the splendor and completeness of its rejoicings; but the most interesting of all the celebrations was naturally that which was held at Philadelphia, in which city the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

In the summer of 1876 the various political parties met in their respective conventions to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, which officers were to be chosen at the general election in November. The Republican Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, and resulted in the nomination of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and of William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-

**President.** The Democratic Convention was held at St. Louis on the 27th of June, and nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for the Presidency, and Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. A third Convention, representing the Independent Greenback party, met at Indianapolis on the 18th of May, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

The campaign which followed these nominations was one of intense bitterness, and was in many respects the most remarkable the country has ever witnessed.

The election was held on the 7th of November. The popular vote was as follows :

For Samuel J. Tilden.....	4,284,265
“ Rutherford B. Hayes.....	4,033,295
“ Peter Cooper.....	81,737

Tilden thus received a popular majority of 250,970 votes over Hayes, and a majority of 169,233 votes over both Hayes and Cooper.

Both sides claimed the success of their tickets. In several of the States there were two returns. Three hundred and sixty-nine was the aggregate number of votes of the electoral college. It required 185 to elect. The advocates of Tilden and Hendricks maintained that by right they were entitled to the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which would give them an

aggregate of 203 votes; but that if the votes of these three States, amounting to 19, were given to Hayes and Wheeler, Tilden and Hendricks would still have 184 undisputed votes, and that they were clearly entitled to one vote from Oregon, which would give them 185—the requisite majority. Meantime the Republican leaders maintained that upon a right count of the vote of the four States in dispute Hayes and Wheeler had the majority. Leading Republicans in Congress maintained that the presiding officer of the Senate had a right to count the votes as sent up from the several States, and to decide questions of dispute between different returning boards. The Democrats proposed that the matter should be settled and adjusted under the previously existing joint rule of the two Houses on the subject of counting the electoral votes. This the Republicans refused to do. The condition of affairs was assuming a threatening aspect, when a proposition was made to provide by law for a Joint High Commission to whom the whole subject should be referred. This was to consist of five members of the House, five of the Senate, and five of the Supreme Court. The five Judges of the Supreme Court were Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley; the Senators were Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, and Thurman; the members of the House were Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield, and Hoar.

To the commission thus constituted, the whole subject was referred by special act of Congress.

The two Houses of Congress met in joint convention on the 1st of February, 1877, and began the counting of the electoral vote. When the vote of Florida was reached, three certificates were presented and were referred to the Electoral Commission. This body, upon hearing the arguments of the counsel of the Democratic and Republican parties, decided that it had no power to go behind the action of the Return Board, and that the certificate of that body giving the vote of that State to Hayes must be accepted by the two Houses of Congress. The vote by which this decision was reached stood eight (all Republicans) in favor of it, and seven (all Democrats) against it. A similar conclusion was come to in the case of Louisiana. Objections were made to the reception of the votes of Oregon and South Carolina. In the Oregon case the decision was *unanimously* in favor of counting the votes of the Hayes electors. In the South Carolina case the commission decided that the Democratic electors were not lawfully chosen; but on the motion to give the State to Hayes the vote stood 8 yeas to 7 nays. So South Carolina was counted for Hayes. Objection was made on the ground of ineligibility to certain electors from Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin, but the objections were not sustained by the two Houses.

This Commission made its final report on all the cases submitted to them, on the 2d day of March,

and according to their decision, Hayes and Wheeler received 185 votes, and Tilden and Hendricks 184 votes. The States that voted for Hayes and Wheeler were California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont and Wisconsin; and those which voted for Tilden and Hendricks were Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

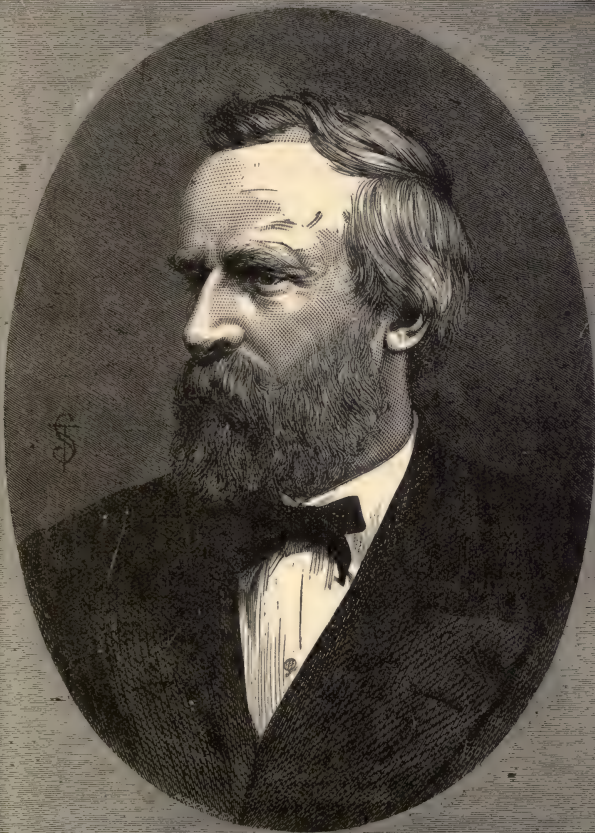
General Grant, on the expiration of his second term, retired from office, but remained in Washington City, receiving marked demonstrations of the admiration of his friends for some months, before starting upon an extensive travel through Europe and around the world.

## **ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.**

4th of March, 1877—4th of March, 1881.

Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on Monday, March 5th, 1877. As the 4th of March fell on Sunday, the President-elect simply took the oath of office on that day. The inaugural ceremonies were carried out on the 5th at the





**RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.**

capitol with the usual pomp and parade, and in the presence of an enormous multitude of citizens and visiting military organizations from all parts of the country. After the customary reception by the Senate, the new President was escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where he delivered his inaugural address to the assembled multitude, after which the oath of office was publicly administered to him by Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President was a native of Ohio, having been born at Delaware, in that State, on the 4th of October, 1822. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, and obtained his professional education at the law school, Cambridge, Mass. He began the practice of law at Cincinnati in 1856. Soon after the opening of the war he enlisted in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, with which regiment he served as major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. He led his regiment, which formed a part of General Reno's division, at the battle of South Mountain, in September, 1862, and was severely wounded in the arm in that engagement. In the fall of 1862 he was made colonel of the regiment, and in 1864 was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and was brevetted major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar-Creek." At the time of this last promotion he was in command of a division. He served

until the close of the war, receiving four wounds and having five horses shot under him during his military career. In the fall of 1864 he was elected to Congress, and was returned a second time in 1866. In 1867, before the expiration of his Congressional term, he was elected Governor of Ohio, and was re-elected to that office in 1869, being each time the candidate of the Republican party. In 1870 General Hayes was again elected to Congress, and in 1874 was nominated for a third term as Governor of Ohio. His opponent was Governor William Allen, one of the most popular of the Democratic leaders of Ohio. General Hayes was elected by a handsome majority. He resigned this office in March, 1877, to enter upon his new duties as President of the United States.

President Hayes selected as his cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. The cabinet was of a composite character and generally regarded as a very conservative one. Mr. Hayes, early in his administration, adopted several reforms in the civil service, one of which was not to allow Federal officeholders to take active part in elections.

Few Presidents were ever so embarrassed upon entering on the duties of the office as he was. At this time the States of South Carolina and Louisiana were in a *quasi* civil war. Two Governors in each were claiming to be entitled to the executive chair. Two legislatures in each were also claiming to be rightfully entitled to the law-making power.

Mr. Hayes displayed the most consummate skill in the conduct and settlement of these most embarrassing questions. In the summer of 1880 the various political parties of the country met in Convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. The Republican Convention met in Chicago on the 2d of June, and nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. (The platform and all the ballots of this convention will be found in another part of this work.) The Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati, on the 22d of June, and nominated Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Greenback Convention met at Chicago, on the 9th of June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

The election was held on the 2d of November, and resulted in the choice of General James A.

Garfield, who received 214 electoral votes to 155 electoral votes cast for General Hancock.

The States that voted for Garfield and Arthur were: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin; and those that voted for Hancock and English were: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

The State of California was divided. She cast one vote for Garfield and Arthur, and five for Hancock and English.

The last days of Mr. Hayes' administration were the happiest he spent in the White House. At the close of his term, he retired to his residence at Fremont, Ohio, followed by the good will of millions of his fellow-citizens.

## ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD.

4th of March, 1881—19th of September, 1881.

On Friday, March 4th, 1881, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence, and were participated in by numerous military and civic organizations, and by thousands of citizens from all parts of the country. After the



new Vice-President had taken the oath of office, President-elect Garfield was formally received by the Senate, and escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where, in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens and soldiery, he delivered



**JAMES A. GARFIELD.**

an able and eloquent inaugural address, and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President had been long and favorably



known to his countrymen. He was in his fiftieth year, and in vigorous health. A man of commanding presence, he was dignified and courteous in his demeanor, accessible to the humblest citizen, and deservedly popular with men of all parties. Born a poor boy, without influential friends, he had by his own efforts secured a thorough collegiate education, and had carefully fitted himself for the arduous duties he was now called upon to discharge. Entering the army at the outbreak of the civil war, he had won a brilliant reputation as a soldier, and been promoted to the rank of Major-General of volunteers. Elected to Congress from Ohio, in 1862, he had entered the House of Representatives in December, 1863, and had seen almost eighteen years of constant service in that body, in which he had long ranked as one of the most brilliant and trusted leaders of the Republican party. Early in 1880 he had been chosen a United States Senator from Ohio, but had been prevented from taking his seat in the Senate by his election to the Presidency. Immediately after his inauguration the names of the new cabinet were sent to the Senate, and were confirmed without opposition. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, was Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of ex-President Abraham Lincoln, was Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, was Secretary of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, was Sec

retary of the Interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, was Postmaster-General, and Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, was Attorney-General.

The Cabinet was regarded, generally, as one very judiciously selected, being all men of marked ability, though of somewhat different shades of opinion in the Republican party.

As the time wore on, President Garfield gained steadily in the esteem of his countrymen. His purpose to give to the nation a fair and just administration of the government was every day more apparent, and his high and noble qualities became more conspicuous. Men began to feel for the first time in many years that the Executive chair was occupied by a President capable of conceiving a pure and noble standard of duty, and possessed of the firmness and strength of will necessary to carry it into execution. The country was prosperous, and there was every reason to expect a continuance of the general happiness.

On the morning of July 2d, President Garfield, accompanied by a distinguished party, including several members of the Cabinet, preceeded to the Baltimore and Potomac depot, in Washington, to take the cars for Long Branch. The President arrived in company with Secretary Blaine. They left the President's carriage together, and walked arm-in-arm into the depot. In passing through the ladies' waiting-room, the President was fired at twice by a man named Charles J. Guiteau. The

first shot inflicted a slight wound in the President's right arm, and the second a terrible wound in the right side of his back, between the hip and the kidney. The President fell heavily to the floor, and the assassin was secured as he was seeking to make his escape from the building.

The whole city was thrown into the greatest consternation and agitation when swift-winged rumor bore the news through every street and avenue, that the President had been assassinated! The wires carried the same consternation throughout the length and breadth of the Union, as well as to foreign nations.

In the meantime, the suffering President received every attention that could be given. He was borne as soon as possible to the Executive mansion, where many eminent surgeons of the country were soon summoned to his bedside; but no permanent relief was given. The ball was not found, and he continued to suffer and languish for weeks. His physicians thought it best to remove him to Long Branch. Suitable and comfortable arrangements were made for his travel from the White House to Francklyn Cottage, at Elberon, at that place, and his journey was successfully performed on the 6th of September.

Here he continued to languish, with intervals of hopeful improvement until he suddenly grew worse on the 18th, and finally expired quietly at 10.35 P. M., on the 19th of September.

His remains were taken to Washington and lay in state in the rotunda of the capitol, after which they were conveyed to Cleveland, Ohio, and there interred with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies. Never before was there such universal and unfeigned sorrow over the death of any public official.

On the night of the death of the President at Elberon, the members of the Cabinet present joined in sending the following telegram to Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, who was at that time in the city of New York :

“It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield, and to advise you to take the oath of office without delay.”

Mr. Arthur, as advised by Mr. Garfield's Cabinet, immediately took the oath of office before Judge Brady, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

On the 22d of September President Arthur again took the oath of office, this time at the hands of the Chief-Justice of the United States, and was quietly inaugurated in the Vice-President's room, in the Capitol at Washington, delivering upon this occasion a brief inaugural address.

President Arthur entered quietly upon the duties of his administration, and his first acts were satisfactory to a majority of his countrymen. As he had been the leader of “the Stalwart” section of the Republican party, it was felt by the mem-

bers of the Cabinet of the late President that he should be free to choose his own advisers. Therefore, immediately upon his accession to the Executive chair, Mr. Blaine and his colleagues tendered



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

him their resignations. They were requested, however, by the new President to retain their offices until he could find suitable successors to

them. To this they agreed, but before the year was out several important changes had been made in the Cabinet. The principal of these were the substitution of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, and the appointment of Judge Charles J. Folger, of Ohio, to the Treasury Department.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to cause the indictment of Charles J. Guiteau for the murder of President Garfield. After some delay the trial of the assassin began on the 14th of November. It ended on the 25th of January, 1882, in the conviction of Guiteau for the murder of the late President.

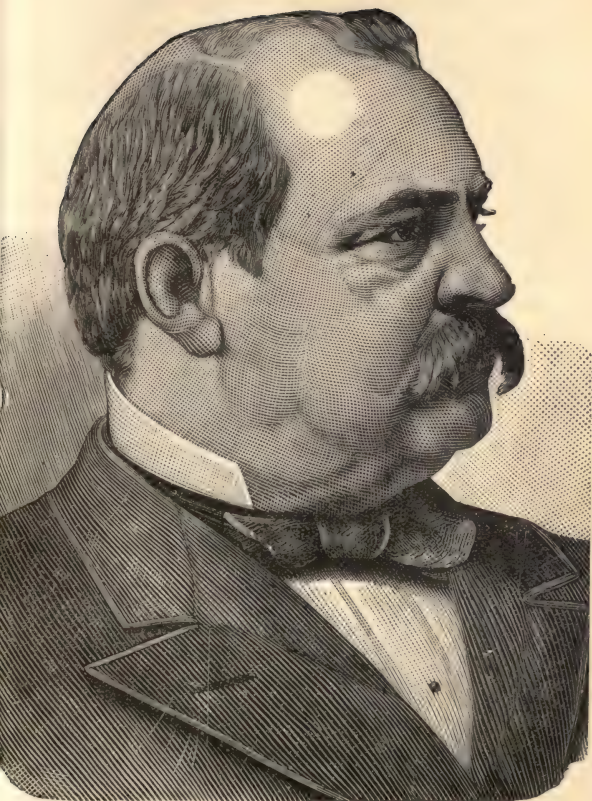
The execution took place in the District jail on the 30th of June, 1882, and was witnessed by about 200 people, many of whom were representatives of the press.

The administration of President Arthur resulted in the prosperity of the whole country, and was satisfactory to the mass of the people.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

THE twenty-second President of the United States was Grover Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland was a native of New Jersey, and was born in Caldwell, Essex Co., March 18, 1837. He came from sturdy New England stock, many of his ancestors having held honorable positions in their respective localities. Some of them were ministers, of which





PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND.

number was President Cleveland's father. The training in the family was such as to make the boys, of whom there were several, upright, self-reliant, acquainted with public affairs, and qualified for useful life.

President Cleveland, after teaching two or three years, studied law in Buffalo, was admitted to the bar, became sheriff of the county, and, having received the nomination for Governor of New York, was elected by a large majority. This was followed by his nomination in the Democratic Convention of 1884 and his election in the following November.

With very imposing ceremonies Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1885. His inaugural address was a clear, manly and forcible presentation of the duties belonging to his high office, with some suggestions concerning the vital questions of the hour.

President Cleveland's administration was characterized by a conservative policy, a desire to purify official life, a bold and vigorous dealing with the tariff question, and a careful guarding of the public treasury. At the close of the third year of his administration the Democratic party naturally looked to him to be their standard-bearer during the ensuing campaign.

## ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohic, August 2oth, 1833. John Scott Harrison,



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

father of Benjamin, served as a Governor of the Northwestern Territory, and in this position as

well as in that of member of Congress, rendered good service. He was a farmer by occupation, and entered public life only at the call of his constituents. His illustrious son graduated at Miami University, Ohio, in 1851, and on October 20th, 1853, married Miss Caroline Lavinia Scott, of Oxford, Ohio.

Mr. Harrison was inaugurated March 4th, 1889. His administration was such as to inspire confidence in his ability, honesty of purpose, and statesmanlike wisdom. With James G. Blaine for Secretary of State, matters at issue between our Government and Great Britain and Italy were handled in a conservative manner, and at the same time in a way so positive that no charge of weakness or unpatriotic hesitation could be brought against him.

Mr. Harrison approved the tariff legislation, which had for its object protection to American industries. He took decided ground in the dispute with England concerning the Bering Sea fisheries. He approved the legislation upon the Chinese question, and was an ardent advocate of reciprocity with the Republics of South America.

On public occasions he showed the same felicity of speech which characterized him during the campaign preceding his election, and his course during his term of office was such as to enhance his popularity and gather to his support the substantial, controlling elements of his party.

## SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

In November, 1892, Mr. Cleveland was elected by a large majority, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1893. There was the usual large gathering at Washington of people from all parts of the country, who were drawn together by the imposing ceremonies of the occasion.

The capital was in gay attire; there was a fine military display; the streets through which the procession passed were lined with crowds of spectators, and among the Democrats there was a jubilant feeling and expressions of congratulation upon the return of Mr. Cleveland to the White House.

He entered upon the duties of his office at a time when there was much discussion concerning public questions, especially the tariff and the free coinage of silver. A low protective tariff had been the chief issue of the preceding campaign, and it was understood that such legislation would be adopted as would change the McKinley bill and admit various kinds of imports from other countries at lower rates.

One of the main features of Mr. Cleveland's second administration was the enactment of the Wilson tariff bill, which produced a marked effect upon the revenues of the Government. So great was the falling off in the treasury receipts that upwards of \$250,000,000 in bonds were issued, which found a ready market, thus relieving the



emergency and providing money for current expenditures.

Mr. Cleveland's administration was also characterized by a vigorous foreign policy. This was not so evident in the early periods of it as subsequently, when he protested against the encroachments of Great Britain upon territory which the Republic of Venezuela, in South America, claimed as her own by lawful right. Much discussion followed his message upon this subject, and there were angry mutterings of war in both England and America. This folly was speedily suppressed by the uprising of a strong sentiment in both nations in favor of peace and the settlement of all international questions by a court of arbitration.

Next came the Cuban question, the party of freedom in that island having risen again in an insurrection which was very formidable and promised to be successful. There were multitudes of sympathizers with struggling Cuba throughout the country, and their sentiment was vigorously expressed by the members of Congress. Resolutions were passed by both houses granting the rights of belligerents to the Cuban insurgents, but these resolutions were not signed by Mr. Cleveland and consequently failed of their intended effect. The action of Congress produced a profound impression in Spain, mobs assembled at various points, and bitter insults were offered to the American flag. Happily a peaceful policy prevailed.



## Appendix A.

### WHAT IT COSTS THE PRESIDENT TO LIVE.

The official salary of the President is fixed by law at fifty thousand dollars per annum, or two hundred thousand dollars for his term of four years. At the beginning of each term Congress makes an appropriation for refurnishing the Executive Mansion. The kitchen and pantry are supplied to a considerable extent by the same body. Congress pays all the employees about the house, from the private secretary to the humblest boot-black; it provides fuel and lights; keeps up the stables; and furnishes a corps of gardeners and a garden to supply the Presidential board with fruits, flowers, and vegetables. Many persons suppose that these allowances ought to be enough to enable him to live comfortably. They are mistaken, however. The President is required by public opinion to live in a style consistent with the dignity of his position and the honor of the country, and such a mode of life imposes upon him many very heavy expenses. Besides this, he is expected to be liberal and charitable towards persons and meritorious causes seeking his aid, and "their name is legion." He cannot give as a private individual; his donation must be large. The expense of entertaining the various officers of the Government, members of Congress, and Foreign

Ministers, is enormous. One hundred thousand dollars per annum would not be too much to allow him.

### THE PRESIDENT'S VISITORS.

Access to the President may be easily had by any person having legitimate business with him, or wishing to pay his respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, but, as His Excellency's time is valuable and much occupied, interviews are limited to the shortest possible duration. Visitors, upon such occasions, repair to the reception-room adjoining the President's private office, send in their cards, and await His Excellency's pleasure.

Besides granting these private interviews, the President holds public receptions or levees at stated times during the sessions of Congress.

His official title is "Mr. President," but courtesy has added that of "His Excellency." It is worthy of remark that none of the Executive officers of the States of the Union, except the Governor of Massachusetts, have any legal claim to the titles "His Excellency" and "Your Excellency."

All sorts of people come to see the President, on all sorts of business. His immense patronage makes him the object of the efforts of many unprincipled men. His in-

tegrity is subjected to the severest trials and if he come out of office poor, as happily all of our Presidents have done, he must indeed be an honest man. His position is not a bed of roses, for he cannot hope to please all parties. His friends exaggerate his good qualities, and often make him appear ridiculous, while his enemies magnify his faults and errors, and slander and persecute him in every imaginable way. Pitfalls are set for him along every step of his path, and he must be wary indeed if he would not fall into them. The late President Buchanan once said that there were at least two persons in the world who could not echo the wish experienced by each American mother, that her son might one day be President, and that they were the retiring and the incoming Presidents, the first of whom was worn and weary with the burden he was laying down, and the other for the first time fully alive to the magnitude of the task he had undertaken.

#### CABINET MEETINGS.

The Cabinet Ministers in our Government are the Secretaries placed at the heads of the various Departments. They are the constitutional advisers of the President, but he is not obliged to be governed by their advice. It is customary, however, to lay all

important matters before them for their opinions thereupon, which are submitted in writing at the request of the President, and for this purpose regular meetings of the Cabinet are held at stated times in a room in the Executive Mansion, provided for that purpose. It is located on the second floor of the mansion, and is plainly but comfortably furnished.

The relations existing between the President and his Cabinet are, or ought to be, of the most friendly and confidential nature. They are well set forth in the attitude maintained upon this point by Mr. Lincoln. Says Mr. Raymond, his biographer: "He always maintained that the proper duty of each Secretary was to direct the details of everything done within his own Department, and to tender such suggestions, information, and advice to the President as he might solicit at his hands. But the duty and responsibility of deciding what line of policy should be pursued, or what steps should be taken in any specific case, in his judgment, belonged exclusively to the President; and he was always willing and ready to assume it."

### THE WHITE HOUSE.

The Executive Mansion is situated on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the western end

of the city, and is surrounded by the Treasury, State, War, and Navy Departments. The grounds in front are handsomely ornamented, and in the rear a fine park stretches away to the river. The location is attractive, and commands a magnificent view of the Potomac, but it is not healthy. Ague and fever prevails in the Spring and Fall, and renders it anything but a desirable place of residence. The building is constructed of freestone painted white—hence its most common name, the “White House.” It was designed by James Hoban, and was modeled after the palace of the duke of Leinster. The corner-stone was laid on the 13th of October, 1792, and the house was ready for occupancy in the Summer of 1800. It was partially destroyed by the British in 1814. It has a front of one hundred and seventy feet, and a depth of eighty-six feet. It contains two lofty stories of rooms, and the roof is surrounded with a handsome balustrade. The exterior walls are ornamented with fine Ionic pilasters. On the north front is a handsome portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and a projecting screen with three columns. The space between these two rows of pillars is a covered carriage way. The main entrance to the house is from this portico through a massive doorway, which opens into the main hall. The garden front has a



rusticated basement, which gives a third story to the house on this side, and by a semi-circular projecting colonnade of six columns, with two flights of steps, leading from the ground to the level of the principal story.

### THE INTERIOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Entering by the main door, the visitor finds himself in a handsome hall, divided midway by a row of imitation marble pillars, and ornamented with portraits of former Presidents. Passing to the left, you enter the magnificent banqueting hall, or, as it is commonly called,

### THE EAST ROOM,

which occupies the entire eastern side of the house. It is a beautiful apartment, and is handsomely furnished. It is used during the levees and upon great State occasions. The President sometimes receives here the congratulations and respects of his fellow-citizens, and is subjected to the torture of having his hand squeezed out of shape by his enthusiastic friends. It's a great pity that some one of our Chief Magistrates has not the moral courage to put a stop to this ridiculous practice of hand-shaking. The East Room is eighty-six feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-eight feet high. It has four



fire-places, and is not an easy room to warm. Adjoining the East Room are three others, smaller in size, the whole constituting one of the handsomest *suites* in the country. The first, adjoining the East Room, is the *Green Room*, the next the *Blue Room*, and the third the *Red Room*. Each is handsomely furnished, the prevailing color of the apartment giving the name.

### THE RED ROOM

is elliptical in form having a bow in rear, and is one of the handsomest in the house. It is used by the President as a general reception-room. He receives here the official visits of the dignitaries of the Republic, and of foreign ministers. Previous to the completion of the East Room, this apartment was used for all occasions of public ceremony.

The building contains thirty-one rooms of considerable size. West of the Red Room is the large dining-room used upon State occasions, and adjoining that is the small dining-room ordinarily used by the President and his family. The stairs to the upper story are on the left of the main entrance, and are always in charge of the door-keeper and his assistants, whose business it is to see that no improper characters find access to the private portion of the house.

The north front has six rooms, which are used as chambers by the family of the President, and the south front has seven rooms--the ante-chamber, audience-room, cabinet-room, private office of the President, the ladies' parlor, and two others, used for various purposes.

### THE LADIES' PARLOR

is situated immediately over the Red Room, and is of the same size and shape. It is for the private use of the ladies of the President's family, and is the handsomest and most tastefully furnished apartment in the house.

There are eleven rooms in the basement, which are used as kitchens, pantries, butler's room, &c. The house is built in the old style, and has an air of elegance and comfort extremely pleasing to the eye.

### FIRST MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mrs. John Adams came to Washington with her husband in November, 1800, and at once took possession of the Executive Mansion. Her impressions of it are thus described by herself in a letter to her daughter, written soon after her arrival. She says:

"The house is upon a grand and superb scale requiring about thirty servants to

attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary. The lighting the apartments, from the kitchen to parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed, and the fires we are obliged to keep to secure us from daily agues is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience, that I know not what to do or how to do. The ladies from Georgetown and in the city have many of them visited me. Yesterday I returned fifteen visits. But such a place as Georgetown appears! Why, our Milton is beautiful. But no comparisons, if they put me up bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design *to be pleased*. But, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? . . . We have indeed, come into a *new country*.

“The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all within-side, except the plastering, has been done since B. came. We have not the *least*

*fence, yard, or convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying-room of, to hang up the clothes in. . . . If the twelve years, in which this place has been considered as the future seat of government, had been improved, as they would have been in New England, very many of the present inconveniences would have been removed. It is a beautiful spot, capable of any improvement, and the more I view it, the more I am delighted with it."*

#### OLD TIMES AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mr. Cooper thus describes a dinner at the White House, to which he was invited during its occupancy by Mr. Monroe:

"On this occasion, we were honored with the presence of Mrs. Monroe, and two or three of her female relatives. Crossing the hall, we were admitted to a drawing-room, in which most of the company were already assembled. The hour was six. By far the greater part of the guests were men, and perhaps two-thirds were members of Congress. . . . There was very great gravity of mien in most of the company, and neither any very marked exhibition, nor any positively striking want of grace of manner. The conversation was commonplace, and a little sombre, though two or three men of the world got around the ladies, where the bat-

de of words was maintained with sufficient spirit. . . . To me the entertainment had rather a cold than a formal air. When dinner was announced, the oldest Senator present (there were two, and seniority of service is meant) took Mrs. Monroe, and led her to the table. The rest of the party followed without much order. The President took a lady, as usual, and preceded the rest of the guests.

“The drawing-room was an apartment of good size, and of just proportions. It might have been about as large as the better sort of Paris *salon* in a private hotel. It was furnished in a mixed style, partly English and partly French. . . . It was neat, sufficiently rich, without being at all magnificent, and, on the whole, was very much like a similar apartment in the house of a man of rank and fortune in Europe. The dining-room was in a better taste than is common here, being quite simple, and but little furnished. The table was large and rather handsome. The service was in china, as is uniformly the case, plate being exceedingly rare, if at all used. There was, however, a rich plateau, and a great abundance of the smaller articles of table-plate. The cloth, napkins, &c., &c., were fine and beautiful.

“The dinner was served in the French

style, a little Americanized. The dishes were handed round, though some of the guests, appearing to prefer their own customs, coolly helped themselves to what they found at hand. Of attendants there were a good many. They were neatly dressed, out of livery, and sufficient. To conclude, the whole entertainment might have passed for a better sort of European dinner-party, at which the guests were too numerous for general or very agreeable discourse, and some of them too *new* to be entirely at their ease. Mrs. Monroe arose, at the end of the dessert, and withdrew, attended by two or three of the most gallant of the company. No sooner was his wife's back turned, than the President reseated himself, inviting his guests to imitate the action. After allowing his guests sufficient time to renew, in a few glasses, the recollections of similar enjoyments of their own, he arose himself, giving the hint to his company, that it was time to rejoin the ladies. In the drawing-room, coffee was served, and everybody left the house before nine."

#### AN OLD-TIME LEVEE.

"On the succeeding Wednesday Mrs Monroe opened her doors to all the world. No invitation was necessary, it being the usage for the wife of the President to receive



company once a fortnight during the session, without distinction of persons.

"We reached the White House at nine. The court (or rather the grounds) was filled with carriages, and the company was arriving in great numbers. On this occasion two or three additional drawing-rooms were opened, though the frugality of Congress has prevented them from finishing the principal reception-room of the building. I will acknowledge the same sort of surprise I felt at the Castle Garden *fete*, at finding the assemblage so respectable in air, dress and deportment.

"The evening at the White House, or drawing-room, as it is sometimes pleasantly called, is, in fact, a collection of all classes of people, who choose to go to the trouble and expense of appearing in dresses suited to an ordinary evening party. I am not sure that even dress is much regarded; for I certainly saw a good many there in boots. The females were all neatly and properly attired, though few were ornamented with jewelry. Of course, the poor and laboring classes of the community would find little or no pleasure in such a scene. They consequently stay away. The infamous, if known, would not be admitted; for it is a peculiar consequence of the high tone of morals in this country, that grave and notorious offenders rarely

presume to violate the public feeling by invading society.\*

“Squeezing through the crowd, we achieved a passage to a part of the room where Mrs. Monroe was standing, surrounded by a bevy of female friends. After making our bow here, we sought the President. The latter had posted himself at the top of the room, where he remained most of the evening, shaking hands with all who approached. Near him stood all the Secretaries and a great number of the most distinguished men of the nation. Individuals of importance from all parts of the Union were also here, and were employed in the manner usual to such scenes.

“Besides these, one meets here a great variety of people in other conditions of life. I have known a cartman to leave his horse in the street, and go into the reception-room to shake hands with the President. He offended the good taste of all present, because it was not thought decent that a laborer should come in a dirty dress on such an occasion; but while he made a trifling mistake in this particular, he proved how well he understood the difference between government and society. He knew the levee was a sort of homage paid to political equality in the person of the first magistrate, but

\* This was over sixty years ago.—*Author.*

he would not have presumed to enter the house of the same person as a private individual, without being invited, or without a reasonable excuse in the way of business.

“There are, no doubt, individuals who mistake the character of these assemblies, but the great majority do not. They are a simple, periodical acknowledgment that there is no legal barrier to the advancement of any one to the first association in the Union. You perceive, there are no masters of ceremonies, no ushers, no announcings, nor, indeed, any let or hindrance to the ingress of all who please to come; and yet how few, in comparison to the whole number who might enter, do actually appear. If there is any man in Washington so dull as to suppose equality means a right to thrust himself into any company he pleases, it is probable he satisfies himself by boasting that he can go to the White House once a fortnight, as well as a governor or anybody else.”

### ETIQUETTE.

The social observances of the White House are prescribed with the utmost exactness. At the commencement of Washington's administration, the question of how to regulate such matters was discussed with great earnestness. It was agreed that the exclusive rules by which European courts were gov-

erned would not entirely suit the new Republic, as there were no titled personages in America, and as the society of our country was organized on a professed basis of equality. Washington caused the following articles to be drawn up:

“In order to bring the members of society together in the first instance, the custom of the country has established that residents shall pay the first visit to strangers, and, among strangers, first comers to later comers, foreign and domestic; the character of stranger ceasing after the first visit. To this rule there is a single exception. Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the [cabinet] ministers of the nation, which is returned.

“When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office.

“All other observances are but exemplifications of these two principles.

“The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all other residents.

“Members of the legislature and of the judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right, as strangers, to receive the first visit.

"No title being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.

"Differences of grade among the diplomatic members give no precedence.

"At public ceremonies to which the government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited, and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without any precedence.

"To maintain the principle of equality, or of *pele mele*, and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the executive will practise at their own houses and recommend an adherence to the ancient usage of the country, of gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another."

These rules were too arbitrary and exacting to give satisfaction, and society was not disposed to acknowledge so genuine an equality amongst its members. For some years, disputes and quarrels were frequent and bitter. In the winter of 1819, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter to Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President, stating that he had been informed that the members of the Senate had agreed amongst themselves to pay no

## THE WHITE HOUSE.

first visits to any person except the President of the United States. He declared that he repudiated the claim on the part of the Senators, and that he would pay no first calls himself as being due from him or his family. Mr. Adams was severely criticised for his aristocratic views, and the controversy went on as warmly as before. The result, a few years later, was, that all parties interested agreed upon a code, which is now in force, and which may be stated as follows, as far as the White House is concerned :

### THE CODE.

The title of the Executive is *Mr. President*. It is not proper to address him in conversation as *Your Excellency*.

The President receives calls upon matters of business at any hour, if he is unengaged. He prefers that such visits should be made in the morning. Stated times are appointed for receiving persons who wish to pay their respects to him. One morning and one evening in each week are usually set apart for this purpose.

During the winter season, a public reception, or levee, is held once a week, at which guests are expected to appear in full dress. They are presented by the Usher on such occasions, and have the honor of shaking



hands with the President, These receptions last from eight until ten o'clock.

On the 1st of January of each year, the President holds a public reception, at which the Foreign Ministers present in the city appear in full court dress, and the officers of the Army and Navy in full uniform. The Heads of Departments, Governors of States, and Members of Congress are received first, then the Diplomatic Corps, then the officers of the Army and Navy, and then the doors are thrown open to the public generally for the space of two hours.

The President, as such, must not be invited to dinner by any one, and accepts no such invitations, and pays no calls or visits of ceremony. He may visit in his private capacity, however, at pleasure.

An invitation to dine at the White House takes precedence of all others, and a previous engagement must not be pleaded as an excuse for declining it. Such an invitation must be promptly accepted in writing.

### THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTIONS.

The levees held by the President differ in nothing from those of Mr. Monroe's time, described a few pages back, except that the East Room is now finished, and the whole magnificent suite of apartments is used. The *elite* of the land are present, but the

*infamous* are also there in the persons of those who live by plundering the public treasury.

The President stands in one of the smaller parlors, generally in the Red or Blue Room. He is surrounded by his Cabinet, and the most distinguished men in the land. Near him stands his wife, daughter, or some relative representing the mistress of the mansion. Visitors enter from the hall, and are presented to the President by the Usher, who first asks their names, residences, and avocations. The President shakes each one by the hand cordially, utters a few pleasant words in reply to the greeting of his guest, and the visitor passes on into the next room, to make way for those behind him. Before doing so, however, he is presented to the lady of the house, to whom he pays his respects also. This regular routine goes on for the space of two hours, when it is brought to an end, the President devoutly thanking Heaven that it does not last all night.

These levees are no doubt very interesting to the guests, but they are the bugbears of the President and his family. The former is obliged by custom to shake hands with every man presented to him, and when the levee is over, his right hand is often bruised and swollen. It is said that some of the

Presidents have suffered severely from this species of torture, and that General Harrison's death was to some degree hastened by it.

President Arthur being a widower, and having no grown-up daughter, his sister, Mrs. McElroy, acted as lady of the White House, and her amiable way of making everybody at home, even at the receptions of the Diplomatic Corps and distinguished foreigners, will be gratefully remembered by all who have been honored by an invitation.

The semi-annual receptions of the President—New Year's Day and the Fourth of July—are brilliant affairs. At a little before eleven o'clock in the morning, the approaches to the Executive Mansion are thronged with the splendid equipages of the various Cabinet officers and Foreign Ministers. The entrance at such times is by the main door, and the exit through one of the large north windows of the East Room, in front of which a temporary platform is erected. The customs upon such occasions vary slightly with each administration. In the description given here, the order observed at the reception of the President, January 1, 1884, is followed.

The East Room and the other parlors are handsomely decorated with flowers and

other ornaments, the full Marine Band is in attendance to furnish music for the promenaders in the East Room, and a strong police force is present to preserve order when the people are admitted *en masse*.

At a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the President and the ladies of the White House, in full dress, take their places in the Blue Room, the President standing near the door leading into the Red Room, and the ladies in the centre of the Blue Room. The President is attended by either the Commissioner of Public Buildings, or the Marshal of the District of Columbia, whose duty it is to present the guests to him. A gentleman is also appointed to attend the ladies for the purpose of presenting the guests to them.

Precisely at eleven o'clock the doors are thrown open, and the reception begins. The Cabinet Ministers and their families are admitted first, and after they have passed on into the East Room, through the Green Parlor, the Secretary of State remains and presents the Foreign Ministers and their families. They are followed by the Justices of the Supreme Court and their families. Then come the Senators and Representatives in Congress and their families. The next in order are the officers of the Army, then the

officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, in full uniform, and then the officials of the District of Columbia. These personages generally occupy the first hour. The doors are then opened to the public, and the next two hours are devoted to receiving them. Several thousand persons are presented during this period. They say a few pleasant words to the President, receive a brief reply, and pass on.

The promenaders in the East Room often linger in that apartment during the whole reception. The scene is brilliant, the toilettes are magnificent, the uniforms and court dresses attractive, and the music fine. At a little after two o'clock the parlors are deserted, and the gay throng has sought other attractions.

Besides these public levees, the ladies of the White House hold receptions at stated periods, to which invitations are regularly issued. The President sometimes appears upon these occasions, but is under no obligation to do so.

During the first two years of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, he always selected a lady to join the promenade with him at his evening receptions, thus leaving his wife free to choose an escort from the distinguished throng which always surrounded her on such occasions. This custom did not please Mrs

Lincoln, who resolved to put a stop to it. She declared the practice absurd. "On such occasions," said she, "our guests recognize the position of the President as first of all; consequently he takes the lead in everything; well, now, if they recognize his position, they should also recognize mine. I am his wife, and should lead with him. And yet he offers his arm to any other lady in the room, making her first with him, and placing me second. The custom is an absurd one, and I mean to abolish it. The dignity that I owe to my position, as Mrs. President, demands that I should not hesitate any longer to act."

The spirited lady kept her word. Ever after this, she either led the promenade with the President, or that dignitary walked alone or in company with some gentleman.

It has long been the custom for the President to give a series of State dinners during the session of Congress, to which the various members of that body, the higher Government officials, and the Diplomatic Corps are invited. In order to be able to entertain each one of these celebrities it is necessary to give about two dinners per week. The custom was not much observed during Mr. Lincoln's administration, though it has been revived by his successor.



## IMPERTINENT GOSSIP.

The President and his family are much annoyed by the impertinent curiosity of which they are the objects. There are scores of persons in Washington, some of whom are doubtless well-meaning people, who are so ignorant of the common decencies of society, as to seek to lay bare before the public every incident of the private life of the family at the White House. The whole city rings with gossip upon this topic, much of which finds its way into the columns of the newspaper press in various parts of the land, to the great annoyance of its victims. There are people who can tell you how the President gets out of bed in the morning, how he dresses, breakfasts, picks his teeth, what he talks about in the privacy of his family, and a thousand and one other such private details, until you turn from your informant with the most intense disgust. It is said that much of this comes from the servants employed in the Executive Mansion, who seem to think it adds to their importance to retail such scandal. Every year this goes on, and every new occupant of the White House is subjected to such persecution.



THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF STATE. WASHINGTON. D. C.

## Appendix B.

FIGURES are said to be dry, but figures sometimes have a large meaning. They are the skeleton, and no body would be good for much without the skeleton. It is all a question of figures as to whether a man is a millionaire or a pauper, whether he is elected to the highest office in the gift of the people or suffers inglorious defeat. Figures are mighty; they tell thrilling tales; they rule the world.

The next morning after an exciting election every one wishes to know what figures have to say. The following pages will be no less interesting as records of history. You will find it profitable to study the contests of party and the results of the great campaigns as expressed in these tables. They present the cold, hard facts; they have the force that always goes with statistics. The reader will see that the two great political parties are very evenly matched; neither has an overwhelming advantage over the other in the popular vote.

1860.

States	Lincoln, R.	Douglas, D.	Breckinridge, D.	Bell, U.
Alabama,	.....	13651	48831	27875
Arkansas,	.....	5227	23732	20094
California,	39173	38516	34334	6817
Colorado,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	43792	15522	14641	3291
Delaware,	3815	1023	7337	3864
Florida,	.....	367	8543	5437
Georgia,	.....	11590	51889	42886
Illinois,	172161	160215	2404	4913
Indiana,	139033	115509	12295	5306
Iowa,	70409	55111	1048	1763
Kansas,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky,	1364	25651	53143	66058
Louisiana,	.....	7625	22681	20204
Maine,	62811	26693	6368	2046
Maryland,	2294	5966	42482	41760
Massachusetts,	106533	34372	5939	22331
Michigan,	88480	65057	805	405
Minnesota,	22069	11920	748	62
Mississippi,	.....	3283	40797	25040
Missouri,	17028	58081	31317	58372
Nebraska,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada,	.....	5801	.....	.....
New Hampshire,	37519	22811	2212	441
New Jersey,	58324	62500	.....	.....
New York,	362646	312731	.....	.....
North Carolina,	.....	.....	48539	44990
Ohio,	231610	18822	11403	12194
Oregon,	5270	3951	5006	183
Pennsylvania,	268030	16765	178871	12776
Rhode Island,	12244	7707	.....	.....
South Carolina,	Electors chosen by Legislature.			.....
Tennessee,	.....	11350	64709	69274
Texas,	.....	.....	47548	15438
Vermont,	33808	6849	218	1969
Virginia,	1929	16290	74323	74681
West Virginia,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin,	86110	65021	888	161
<b>Totals,</b>	<b>1866452</b>	<b>1375157</b>	<b>847953</b>	<b>590631</b>

States.	1864.		1868.	
	Lincoln, R.	McClellan, D.	Grant, R.	Seymour, D.
Alabama,	.....	.....	76366	72086
Arkansas,	.....	.....	22152	10078
California,	62134	43841	54592	54078
Colorado,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	44691	42285	50996	47951
Delaware,	8155	8767	7623	10980
Florida,				
Georgia,	.....	.....	57134	102822
Illinois,	189996	158730	256293	199143
Indiana,	150422	130233	176552	166980
Iowa,	89075	40596	120399	74040
Kansas,	16441	3691	31047	14019
Kentucky,	27786	64301	39569	115889
Louisiana,	.....	.....	33263	80225
Maine,	6814	46992	70426	42396
Maryland,	40153	32739	30438	62357
Massachusetts,	126742	48745	136477	59408
Michigan,	91521	74604	128550	97009
Minnesota,	21060	17375	43542	28072
Mississippi,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri,	72750	31678	85671	59788
Nebraska,	.....	.....	9729	5439
Nevada,	9826	6594	6480	5218
New Hampshire,	36400	32871	38191	31224
New Jersey,	60723	68024	80121	83001
New York,	368732	361986	410883	429883
North Carolina,	.....	.....	96226	84090
Ohio,	265154	205568	280128	237800
Oregon,	9888	8457	10961	11125
Pennsylvania,	296391	276316	342280	313382
Rhode Island,	14349	8718	12903	6548
South Carolina,	.....	.....	62301	45237
Tennessee,	.....	.....	56757	26311
Texas,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont,	42419	13321	44167	12045
Virginia,	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia,	23152	10438	29025	20306
Wisconsin,	83458	65884	108857	84710
Totals,	2223035	811754	3013188	2703600

States.	*1876.		†1880.			
	Hayes, R.	Tilden D.	Garfield R.	Hancock D.	Weaver, G.	Dow, P.
Alabama,	68,708	102,989	56,221	91,185	4,642	.....
Arkansas,	38,669	58,071	42,436	60,775	4,079	.....
California,	79,279	76,468	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....
Colorado,	By Legislature.		27,450	24,647	1,435	.....
Connecticut,	59,034	61,934	67,071	64,415	868	409
Delaware,	10,752	13,381	14,133	15,275	120	.....
Florida,	23,849	22,927	23,654	27,964	.....	.....
Georgia,	50,446	130,088	54,086	102,470	969	.....
Illinois,	278,232	258,601	318,037	277,321	26,358	443
Indiana,	208,011	213,526	232,164	225,522	12,986	.....
Iowa,	171,326	112,121	183,927	105,845	32,701	592
Kansas,	78,322	37,902	121,549	59,801	19,851	25
Kentucky,	97,156	159,696	106,306	149,068	11,499	258
Louisiana,	75,315	70,508	38,637	65,067	439	.....
Maine,	66,300	49,917	74,039	65,171	4,408	93
Maryland,	71,981	91,780	78,515	93,706	818	.....
Massachusetts,	150,063	108,777	165,205	111,960	4,548	682
Michigan,	166,534	141,095	185,341	131,597	34,895	942
Minnesota,	72,962	48,799	93,903	53,315	3,267	286
Mississippi,	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750	5,797	.....
Missouri,	145,029	203,077	153,567	208,609	35,135	.....
Nebraska,	31,916	17,554	54,979	28,523	3,950	.....
Nevada,	10,383	9,308	8,732	9,613	.....	.....
New Hampshire,	41,539	38,509	44,852	40,794	528	180
New Jersey,	103,517	115,962	120,555	122,565	2,617	191
New York,	489,207	521,949	555,544	534,511	12,373	1,517
North Carolina,	108,417	125,427	115,874	124,208	1,126	.....
Ohio,	330,698	323,182	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,616
Oregon,	15,206	14,149	20,619	19,948	249	.....
Pennsylvania,	384,184	366,204	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,939
Rhode Island,	15,787	10,712	18,195	10,779	236	20
South Carolina,	91,870	90,896	58,071	112,312	566	.....
Tennessee,	89,566	133,166	107,677	128,191	5,917	43
Texas,	44,803	104,803	57,893	156,428	27,405	.....
Vermont,	44,428	20,350	45,567	18,316	1,215	.....
Virginia,	95,558	139,670	84,020	128,586	.....	.....
West Virginia,	42,046	56,495	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....
Wisconsin,	130,070	123,926	144,400	114,649	7,986	69
Total,	4,033,768	4,285,992	4,454,416	4,444,952	308,578	10,305
Maj. over all,		145,911	†9,464			

\* 1876—Greenback, 81,737; Prohibition, 9,522; American, 539; imperfect and scattering, 14,715. † 1880—Greenback, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; imperfect and scattering, 989. ‡ Plurality. Al., over Garfield, 311,115.



## POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

465

\*1884.

States.	Blaine, R.	Cleveland, D.	Butler, G.	St. John, P.
Alabama,	59,591	93,951	873	612
Arkansas,	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....
California,	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,920
Colorado,	36,290	27,723	1,958	761
Connecticut,	65,923	67,199	1,688	2,305
Delaware,	12,951	16,964	6	55
Florida,	28,031	31,766	.....	72
Georgia,	48,603	94,667	145	195
Illinois,	337,474	312,355	10,910	12,074
Indiana,	238,463	244,990	8,293	3,028
Iowa,	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472
Kansas,	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,495
Kentucky,	118,122	152,961	1,691	3,139
Louisiana,	46,347	62,540	.....	.....
Maine,	72,209	52,140	3,953	2,160
Maryland,	85,699	96,932	531	2,794
Massachusetts,	146,724	122,481	24,433	10,026
Michigan,	192,669	149,835	42,243	18,403
Minnesota,	111,923	70,144	3,583	4,684
Mississippi,	43,509	76,510	.....	.....
Missouri,	202,929	235,988	.....	2,153
Nebraska,	76,912	54,391	.....	2,899
Nevada,	7,193	5,578	26	.....
New Hampshire,	43,249	39,183	552	1,571
New Jersey,	123,440	127,798	3,496	6,159
New York,	562,005	563,154	16,994	25,016
North Carolina,	125,068	142,952	.....	454
Ohio,	400,082	368,280	5,179	11,069
Oregon,	26,860	24,604	726	492
Pennsylvania,	473,804	392,785	16,992	15,283
Rhode Island,	19,030	12,391	422	928
South Carolina,	21,733	69,890	.....	.....
Tennessee,	124,078	133,258	957	1,131
Texas,	93,141	225,309	3,321	3,534
Vermont,	39,514	17,331	785	1,752
Virginia,	139,356	145,497	.....	138
West Virginia,	63,096	67,317	810	939
Wisconsin,	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656
Total,	4,851,981	4,874,986	175,370	150,369
Plurality,	23,005			

\* 1884—Blank, defective and scattering, 14,904. In consequence of the uncertainties in the count resulting from the "fusions" formed, the plurality shown for Cleveland must be considered an approximation to the actual result—not a definite result. All, over Cleveland, 317,638.

## 1888.

STATES.	Cleveland. Dem.	Harrison. Rep.	Fisk. Pro.	Streeter. U. Labor.
Alabama.....	117,320	56,197	583	.....
Arkansas .....	85,962	58,752	641	10,613
California.....	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....
Colorado.....	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,266
Connecticut.....	74,920	74,584	4,234	240
Delaware .....	16,414	12,973	400	.....
Florida.....	39,561	26,657	423	.....
Georgia .....	100,499	40,496	1,808	136
Illinois.....	348,278	370,473	21,695	7,090
Indiana.....	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694
Iowa .....	179,887	211,598	3,550	9,105
Kansas.....	103,744	182,934	6,768	37,726
Kentucky.....	183,800	155,134	5,225	622
Louisiana.....	85,032	30,484	160	39
Maine.....	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344
Maryland.....	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....
Massachusetts....	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....
Michigan .....	213,459	236,370	20,942	4,542
Minnesota.....	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,094
Mississippi.....	85,471	30,096	218	22
Missouri .....	261,974	236,257	4,539	18,632
Nebraska.....	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226
Nevada.....	5,362	7,229	41	.....
New Hampshire..	43,456	45,728	1,593	13
New Jersey..	151,493	144,344	7,904	.....
New York.....	635,757	648,759	30,231	626
North Carolina...	147,902	134,784	2,787	32
Ohio .....	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496
Oregon .....	26,522	33,291	1,677	363
Pennsylvania .....	446,633	526,091	20,947	3,873
Rhode Island.....	17,530	21,968	1,250	18
South Carolina...	65,825	13,736	.....	.....
Tennessee .....	158,779	138,988	5,969	48
Texas.....	534,883	88,422	4,749	29,459
Vermont.....	16,788	45,192	1,460	.....
Virginia.....	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....
West Virginia....	79,664	77,791	669	1,064
Wisconsin.....	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552
Total.....	5,540,329	5,439,853	249,506	146,935

Cleveland's majority on popular vote over Harrison was 100,476. Electoral vote: Harrison 233; Cleveland, 168.

## 1892.

STATES.	Harrison. Rep.	Cleveland. Dem.	Bidwell. Pro.	Weaver. Peo.
Alabama.....	9,197	138,138	239	85,181
Arkansas.....	46,974	87,752	113	11,831
California.....	117,618	117,908	8,187	25,226
Colorado.....	38,620	.....	1,687	53,584
Connecticut.....	77,032	82,395	4,026	809
Delaware.....	18,077	18,581	564	.....
Florida.....	.....	30,143	570	4,843
Georgia.....	48,305	129,386	988	42,939
Idaho.....	8,799	.....	219	10,430
Illinois.....	399,288	426,281	25,870	22,207
Indiana.....	255,615	262,740	13,044	22,198
Iowa.....	219,373	196,408	6,322	20,616
Kansas.....	157,241	.....	4,553	163,111
Kentucky.....	135,420	175,424	6,385	23,503
Louisiana.....	25,332	87,922	.....	1,232
Maine.....	62,878	48,024	3,062	2,045
Maryland.....	92,736	113,866	5,877	796
Massachusetts.....	202,814	176,813	7,539	3,210
Michigan.....	222,708	202,296	20,569	19,797
Minnesota.....	122,736	100,579	14,017	30,398
Mississippi.....	1,406	40,237	910	10,256
Missouri.....	226,762	268,628	4,298	41,183
Montana.....	18,833	17,534	517	7,259
Nebraska.....	87,218	24,943	4,902	83,134
Nevada.....	2,822	711	85	7,267
New Hampshire.....	45,658	42,081	1,297	293
New Jersey.....	156,080	171,066	8,134	935
New York.....	609,459	654,908	38,193	16,430
North Carolina.....	100,346	132,951	2,636	44,732
North Dakota.....	17,486	.....	.....	17,650
Ohio.....	405,187	404,115	26,012	14,852
Oregon.....	35,002	14,243	2,281	26,965
Pennsylvania.....	516,011	452,264	25,123	8,714
Rhode Island.....	27,069	24,335	1,565	227
South Carolina.....	13,384	54,698	.....	2,410
South Dakota.....	34,888	9,081	.....	26,512
Tennessee.....	99,973	136,477	4,856	23,622
Texas.....	81,444	239,148	2,165	99,638
Vermont.....	37,992	16,325	1,424	43
Virginia.....	113,256	163,977	2,798	12,274
Washington.....	36,470	29,844	2,553	19,105
West Virginia.....	80,285	83,484	2,130	4,165
Wisconsin.....	170,761	177,436	13,132	9,909
Wyoming.....	8,376	.....	526	526

Total.....	5,186,931	5,553,142	268,361	1,030,128
Per cent.....	42.93	45.96	2.22	8.52

Total vote, 12,081,316. Cleveland's majority on popular vote over Harrison was 366,211. All over Cleveland, 932,278.



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, THE SCENE OF BLAINE'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS.

## Appendix D.

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### THE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS.

THE Postmaster-General was not recognized as a cabinet officer until 1829. Those preceding this date are, however, included in the cabinets to show when they were appointed.

#### *First Administration—Washington, 1789–1793.*

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Alex. Hamilton, of New York; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania.

#### *Second Administration—Washington, 1793–1797.*

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, to January, 1794, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to December, 1795, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander

Hamilton, of New York, to February, 1795, Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, to January, 1795, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to January, 1796, James McHenry, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to January, 1794, William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1795, Charles Lee, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.

*Third Administration—Adams, 1797–1801.*

President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to May, 1800, John Marshall, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott, of Massachusetts, to January, 1801; Secretary of War, James McHenry, of Maryland, to May, 1800, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Navy, George Cabot, of Massachusetts, to March, 1798, Benj. Stoddert, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Charles Lee, of Virginia, to February, 1801, Theo. Parsons, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Gideon Granger, of Connecticut.

*Fourth Administration—Jefferson, 1801–1805.*

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, Aaron Burr, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania;



Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts.

*Fifth Administration—Jefferson, 1805–1809.*

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to August, 1805, John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, to January, 1807, Cæsar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania.

*Sixth Administration—Madison, 1809–1813.*

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to April, 1811, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, William Eustis, of Massachusetts, to January, 1813, John Armstrong, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, to January, 1813, William Jones, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Cæsar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1811, William Pinckney, of Maryland.

*Seventh Administration—Madison, 1813–1817.*

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1814, George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, to October, 1814, Alex. James Dallas, of Pennsylvania, to October, 1816, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, James Monroe, to August, 1815, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of the Navy, William P. Jones, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1814, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, William Pinckney, of Maryland, to February, 1814, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Return J. Meigs, of Ohio.

*Eighth Administration—Monroe, 1817–1821.*

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, to April, 1817, George Graham, of Virginia, to October, 1817, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, to November, 1818, Smith Thompson, of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, to November, 1817, Wm. Wirt, of Virginia.

*Ninth Administration—Monroe, 1821–1825.*

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson, of New York, to September, 1823, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, John McLean, of Ohio.

*Tenth Administration—J. Q. Adams, 1825–1829.*

President, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Treasury, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, James Barbour, of Virginia, to May, 1828, Peter B. Porter, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia.

*Eleventh Administration—Jackson, 1829–1833.*

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, to May, 1831, Edward Livingston, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1831, Louis McLane, of Dela-

ware; Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, to August, 1831, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, John Branch, of North Carolina, to May, 1831, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Attorney-General, John M. Berrien, of Georgia, to July, 1831, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky.

*Twelfth Administration—Jackson, 1833-1837.*

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Secretary of State, Louis McLane, of Delaware, to June, 1834; Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1833, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to June, 1834, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Louis Woodbury, of New Hampshire, to June, 1834, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky, to May, 1835, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to November, 1833, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York.

*Thirteenth Administration—Van Buren, 1837-1841.*

President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia; Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, of

New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to March, 1837, Joel K. Poinsett, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, to June, 1838, James K. Paulding, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, to May, 1840, John M. Niles, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to July, 1838, Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, to January, 1840, Henry D. Gilpin, of Pennsylvania.

*Fourteenth Administration—Harrison, Tyler, 1841–1845.*

President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio; Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to May, 1843, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to March, 1844, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to June, 1844, George M. Bibb, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, John Bell, of Tennessee, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to March, 1843, James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1844, then William Wilkens, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger, of North Carolina, to September, 1841, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to July, 1843, Daniel Henshaw, of Massachusetts, to February, 1844, Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, to March, 1844,

then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Francis Granger, of New York, to September, 1841, then Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to September, 1841, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, then John Nelson, of Maryland.

*Fifteenth Administration—Polk, 1845–1849.*

President, James K. Polk, of Tennessee; Vice-President, George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of State, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi; Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, to September, 1846, then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Cave Johnson, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, John Y. Mason, of Virginia, to October, 1846, Nathan Clifford, of Maine, to June, 1848, then Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut.

*Sixteenth Administration—Taylor, Fillmore, 1849–1853.*

President, Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana; Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York; Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, of Delaware, to July, 1850, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to December, 1852, then Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William M. Meredith, to July, 1850, then Thomas Corwin, of



Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. Crawford, of Georgia, to July 20, 1850, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to July 23, 1850, Winfield Scott, of Virginia, to August, 1850, then Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Navy, William B. Preston, of Virginia, to July, 1850, William A. Graham, of North Carolina, to July, 1852, then John P. Kennedy, of Maryland; Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to July, 1850, James A. Pierce, of Maryland, to August, 1850, Thomas M. T. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1850, then Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, to July, 1850, Nathan K. Hall, of New York, to August, 1852, then Samuel D. Hubbard, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, to July, 1850, then John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

*Seventeenth Administration—Pierce, 1853–1857.*

President, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire; Vice-President, William R. King, of Alabama; Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; Secretary of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina; Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, James Campbell, of Pennsylvania; **A**ttorney-General, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts.

*Eighteenth Administration—Buchanan, 1857–1861.*

President, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, to March, 1857, then Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, to December, 1860, Phillip F. Thomas, of Maryland, to January, 1861, then John A. Dix, of New York; Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, of Virginia, to January, 1861, then Joseph Holt, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson; Postmaster-General, Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, to March, 1859, Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, to February, 1861, then Horatio King, of Maine; Attorney-General, Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1860, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania.

*Nineteenth Administration—Lincoln, 1861–1865.*

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to July, 1864, then William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, to January, 1862, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, to January

1863, then John P. Usher, of Indiana; Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, to September, 1864, then William Dennison, of Ohio; Attorney-General, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to June, 1863, T. J. Coffey, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1864, then James Speed, of Kentucky.

*Twentieth Administration—Lincoln, Johnson, 1865–1869*

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana; Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1867, U. S. Grant, of Illinois, to February, 1868, Lorenzo Thomas, of Delaware, to May, 1868, then John M. Schofield, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, John P. Usher, of Indiana, to May, 1865, James Harlan, of Iowa, to July, 1866, then O. H. Browning, of Illinois; Postmaster-General, William Dennison, of Ohio, to July, 1866, then Alexander W. Randall, of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, James Speed, of Kentucky, to July, 1866, Henry Stanberry, of Ohio, to July, 1868, then William M. Evarts, of New York.

*Twenty-first Administration—Grant, 1869–1873.*

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Secretary of

State, E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, to March, 1869, then Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; Secretary of War, John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, to September, 1869, then William T. Sherman, of Ohio, to October, 1869, then William W. Belknap, of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, to June, 1869, then George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, to November, 1870, then Columbus Delano, of Ohio; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland; Attorney-General, E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, to June, 1870, Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, to December, 1861, then George H. Williams, of Oregon.

*Twenty-second Administration—Grant, 1873–1877.*

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, William A. Richardson, of Massachusetts, to June, 1874, Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, to June, 1876, then Lot M. Morrill, of Maine; Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, of Iowa, to March, 1876, Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, to May, 1876, then Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, of Ohio, to October, 1875, then

Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, to August, 1874, Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, to July, 1876, then James M. Tyner, of Indiana; Attorney-General, George H. Williams, of Oregon, to April, 1875, Edward Pierrepont, of New York, to May, 1876, then Alphonso Taft, of Ohio.

*Twenty-third Administration—Hayes, 1877–1881.*

President, Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, of New York; Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, of Iowa, to December, 1879, then Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota; Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, to January, 1881, then Nathan Goff, of West Virginia; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Postmaster-General, David McKey, of Tennessee, to August, 1880, then Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, Charles Devens, of Massachusetts.

*Twenty-fourth Administration—Garfield, Arthur,  
1881–1885.*

President, James A. Garfield, of Ohio; Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of New York; Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine, to September, 1881, then Frederick Frelinghuysen,

of New Jersey; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota, to September, 1881, then Charles Folger, of New York; Secretary of War, Robert Lincoln, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, William L. Hunt, of Louisiana, to April, 1882, then William Chandler, of New Hampshire; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, to April, 1882, then Henry F. Teller, of Colorado; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York, to October, 1881, Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, to October, 1883, then Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1881, then Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania.

*Twenty-fifth Administration—Cleveland, Hendricks,  
1885-1888.*

President, Grover Cleveland, of New York; (the Vice-Presidency is vacant, by reason of the death of Mr. Hendricks;) Secretary of State, Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi. Mr. Fairchild succeeded Daniel H. Manning as Secretary of the Treasury. Don. M. Dickinson, of Michigan, succeeded Mr. Vilas as Postmaster-General. Mr. Vilas succeeded Mr. Lamar as Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Lamar was elevated to the Supreme Court.



*Twenty-sixth Administration—Harrison, Morton,*  
1889–1893.

President, Benjamin Harrison, Indiana; Vice-President, Levi P. Morton, New York; Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, Minnesota (deceased), succeeded by Charles Foster, Ohio; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, Vermont (resigned), succeeded by Stephen B. Elkins, West Virginia; Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, New York; Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, Missouri; Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, Pennsylvania; Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah M. Rusk, Wisconsin; Attorney-General, William H. Miller. Indiana.

*Twenty-seventh Administration—Cleveland, Stevenson,*  
1893–1897.

President, Grover Cleveland, New York; Vice-President, Adlai E. Stevenson, Illinois; Secretary of State, Richard Olney, Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, New York; Attorney-General, Judson Harmon, Ohio; Postmaster-General, William L. Wilson, West Virginia; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, Georgia; Secretary of Agriculture, J. Sterling Morton, Nebraska.

## Appendix E.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE Presidential Election will take place on Tuesday, November 3, 1896. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year, the electors by States will be as follows :

STATES.	Electoral Votes.	STATES.	Electoral Votes.
Alabama.....	11	Nevada .....	3
Arkansas.....	8	New Hampshire.....	4
California.....	9	New Jersey .....	10
Colorado.....	4	New York .....	36
Connecticut.....	6	North Carolina.....	11
Delaware.....	3	North Dakota.....	3
Florida .....	4	Ohio.....	23
Georgia.....	13	Oregon.....	4
Idaho .....	3	Pennsylvania.....	32
Illinois.....	24	Rhode Island.....	4
Indiana.....	15	South Carolina.....	9
Iowa.....	13	South Dakota .....	4
Kansas.....	10	Tennessee .....	12
Kentucky.....	13	Texas .....	15
Louisiana .....	8	Utah.....	3
Maine.....	6	Vermont.....	4
Maryland.....	8	Virginia.....	12
Massachusetts .....	15	Washington.....	4
Michigan.....	14	West Virginia.....	6
Minnesota .....	9	Wisconsin.....	12
Mississippi .....	9	Wyoming.....	3
Missouri.....	17		
Montana .....	3		
Nebraska.....	8		

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447

Necessary to a choice, 224.

No Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be an elector. In all the States, the laws thereof direct that the people shall choose the electors. The Constitution requires that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. The electors shall meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. They shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to Washington, directed to the President of the Senate, before the first Wednesday in January. On the second Wednesday in February, the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number shall be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as

President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. No person, except a natural-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years. The qualifications for Vice-President are the same.

## Appendix F.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

#### ARTICLE I.

*Section 1.* All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

*Sec. 2.* 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2 No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, one; Connecticut, five, New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4 When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

*Sec. 3.* 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State,



chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years: and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the

President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside : And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

*Sec. 4.* 1 The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

*Sec. 5.* 1 Each House shall be the judge of the election, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its

## APPENDIX

proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

*Sec. 6.* 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

*Sec. 7.* 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except a question of

adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

*Sec. 8.* The Congress shall have power

1 To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and

inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the



seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one

State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

*Sec. 10.* 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II.

*Sec. 1.* 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

[\*The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the govern-

\* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the twelfth amendment.

## APPENDIX

ment of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot, the Vice-President.]

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

*Sec. 2.* 1 The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

*Sec. 3.* He shall from time to time give the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as



he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

*Sec. 4.* The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III.

*Sec. 1.* The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their service a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

*Sec. 2.* 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public min-

isters and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

*Sec. 3.* 1 Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason

shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

#### ARTICLE IV.

*Sec. 1.* Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

*Sec. 2.* 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

*Sec. 3.* 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, with-

out the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

*Sec. 4.* The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

#### ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of

the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### ARTICLE VI.

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

**DONE** in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the 17th day of September in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEO. WASHINGTON,  
*President and deputy from Virginia.*

*New Hampshire.*

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

*Massachusetts.*

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

*Connecticut.*

Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

*New York.*

Alexander Hamilton.

*New Jersey.*

Wil. Livingston, David Brearley,  
William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

*Pennsylvania.*

B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin,  
Robert Morris, George Clymer,  
Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll,  
James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

*Delaware.*

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun'r,  
John Dickinson, Richard Bassett,  
Jacob Broom,



*Maryland.*

James M'Henry,     Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.  
Daniel Carroll,

*Virginia.*

John Blair,     James Madison, Jr.

*North Carolina.*

William Blount,     Richard Dobbs Spaight.  
Hugh Williamson,

*South Carolina.*

J. Rutledge,     Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,  
Charles Pinckney,     Pierce Butler.

*Georgia.*

William Few,     Abr. Baldwin.

Attest:     WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legisla-  
tures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth  
article of the original Constitution.

## ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an estab-  
lishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise  
thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of  
the press; or the right of the people peaceably to  
assemble, and to petition the government for a re-  
dress of grievances.

## ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

## ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

## ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

## ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due

process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

#### ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

#### ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

## ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the State, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

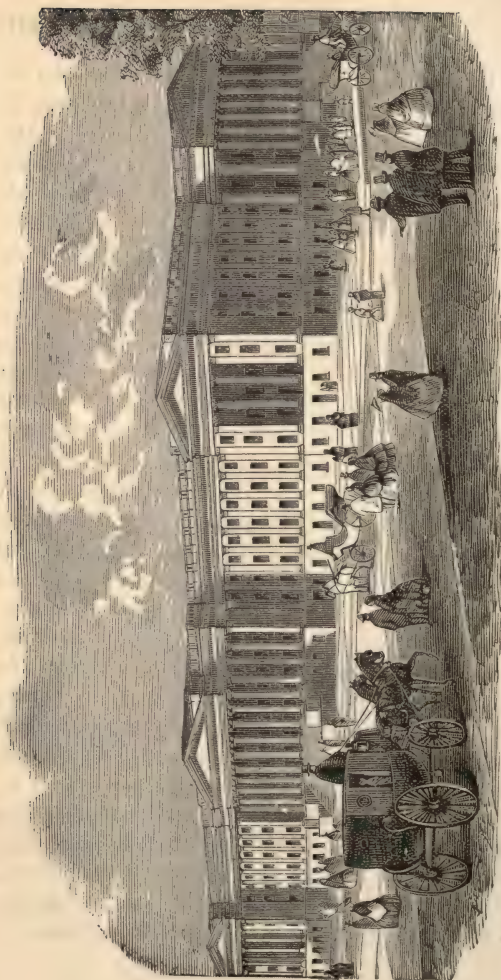
## ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

## ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall

be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.



## NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SILVERITES.

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**T**WO National Conventions assembled in St. Louis July 22, 1896, one that of the Silverites, the other that of the Populists.

The Silver Party Convention was called to order at noon by Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, temporary chairman. There were about four hundred delegates present. Chairman Newlands, in his speech, declared unequivocally for William J. Bryan, the Democratic nominee, and the applause which followed showed how the delegates stood on this question.

Committees on Permanent Organization were then appointed, and Chairman Newlands read a telegram from Senator Teller. In this telegram Mr. Teller said: "The money question overshadows all others. On its rightful determination depends the prosperity of the people and the perpetuity of republican institutions. A vote for Bryan and Sewall is a vote for industrial and financial independence of the American people from foreign domination and control, and they should have the support of all opponents of the gold standard."

While the committees were at work the Convention took a recess until half-past four o'clock.

After organization, William P. St. John, of New York, was named as permanent chairman, and Charles A. Towne for vice-chairman.

After recess the committee reported its nominations, and both were well received by the silver men. Robert E. Diffenderfer, of Pennsylvania, was named as secretary. After Mr. St. John took the chair a resolution providing that one delegate from each State should cast the entire vote of that State was adopted.

Chairman St. John went into an exhaustive review of the currency question, and declared that "it is among the first principles in finance that the value of each dollar depends upon the total number of dollars in circulation. The plane of prices is high when the number of dollars in circulation is great in proportion to the number of things to be exchanged by means of dollars, and low when the dollars are proportionately few. The increase of our population at about two millions a year, scattered over our immense territory, calls for increasing exchanges, and thereby demands an increasing number of dollars in circulation."

At the conclusion of Mr. St. John's speech, a motion was made for Mr. St. John to appoint a committee to confer with the Populists to adjust differences and agree upon Bryan and Sewall as the candidates of both parties. This provoked a long debate, but was finally adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions of the Silver Convention completed its work on the 23d, by adopting the platform and address to the people which had been prepared by the sub-committee. The platform and address are as follows :

The National Silver Party of America, in Convention assembled, hereby adopts the following declaration of principles :

### **The Money Plank.**

First : The paramount issue at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the British gold standard, gold bonds and bank currency on the one side, and the bi-metallic standard, no bonds, Government currency (and an American policy) on the other.

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to the single gold standard, and demand the immediate return to the Constitutional standard of gold and silver by the restoration by this Government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the rate of 16 to 1, and upon terms of exact equality as they existed prior to 1873, the silver coin to be of full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts and dues, public and private ; and we demand such legislation as will prevent, for the future, the destruction of the legal tender quality of any kind of money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to

coin money, and, hence, that all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued and its value controlled by the General Government only, and should be a legal tender.

### Bond Issues.

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder, worse than a crime, the present Treasury policy concurred in by a Republican House of plunging the country into debt by hundreds of millions in the vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold; and we demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States, as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the Government and not at the option of the creditor.

### Demonetization of Silver.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 enormously increased the demand for gold, enhancing its purchasing power and lowering all prices measured by that standard; and since that unjust and indefensible act the prices of American products have fallen upon an average nearly 50 per cent., carrying down with them proportionately the money value of all other forms of property.

Such fall of prices has destroyed the profit of legitimate industry, injuring the producer for the benefit of the non-producer, increasing the burden of the debtor, swelling the gains of the creditor, paralyzing the productive energies of the American people, relegating to idleness vast numbers of

willing workers, sending the shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centres.

### Additional Debt.

In the effort to maintain the gold standard, the country has within the last two years, in a time of profound peace and plenty, been loaded down with \$262,000,000 of additional interest-bearing debt under such circumstances as to allow a syndicate of native and foreign bankers to realize a net profit of millions on a single deal.

It stands confessed that the gold standard can only be upheld by so depleting our paper currency as to force the prices of our products below the European and even below the Asiatic level, to enable us to sell in foreign markets, thus aggravating the very evils of which our people so bitterly complain, degrading American labor and striking at the foundations of our civilization itself.

### The Cause of Our Distress.

The advocates of the gold standard persistently claim that the real cause of our distress is overproduction—that we have produced so much that it made us poor—which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm and throw a multitude of people out of employment, a doctrine that leaves us unnerved and disheartened and absolutely without hope for the future.

We affirm it to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as overproduction, and at the same time tens of thousands of our

fellow-citizens remaining half clothed and half fed, and who are piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

### The Money of the Constitution.

Over and above all other questions of policy we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution—gold and silver, not one but both—the money of Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson and Monroe and Jackson and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard and not in a dishonest and unsound standard appreciated 100 per cent. in purchasing power and no appreciation in debt-paying power, and to the end, further, that silver-standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation cannot overcome.

### People Urged to Unite.

We therefore confidently appeal to the people of the United States to hold in abeyance all other questions, however important, and even momentous they may appear, to sunder, if need be, all former party ties and affiliations, and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age. And upon the consummation of our



desires and efforts, we invoke the aid of all patriotic American citizens and the gracious favor of Divine Providence.

### Bryan and Sewall Endorsed.

Inasmuch as the patriotic majority of the Chicago Convention embodied in the financial plank of its platform the principles enunciated in the platform of the American Bimetallic party, promulgated at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1896, and herein reiterated, which is not only the paramount but the only real issue in the pending campaign, therefore, recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles, we recommend that this Convention nominate William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President.

The foregoing platform was adopted, and on Friday, the 24th, the Convention, by acclamation, nominated Bryan and Sewall for President and Vice-President, and then adjourned *sine die*.

## NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE POPULISTS.

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**W**HEN the Convention assembled at St. Louis on July 22, there was much division of sentiment respecting the wisest policy to be pursued. Many favored endorsing the nominees of the Chicago Democratic Convention, while others, styled the "Middle-of-the-Roaders," were clamorous for a separate party platform and nominees in order to preserve the party as an organization. Another disturbing element was the name of Sewall, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, who, on account of his connection with moneyed interests and banks, was obnoxious to many of the Populists. At times the proceedings were disorderly, and there were animated contests between rival factions.

When the Convention proceeded to organization, Governor Stone, of Missouri, made an address of welcome, which was responded to by Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. Senator Butler, of North Carolina, was elected temporary chairman, and Senator Allen, of Nebraska, was made permanent chairman.

On the 24th the platform was adopted as follows :

The People's Party, assembled in National Convention, re-affirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892.

We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding administrations the country has reached a crisis in its national life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and politic action is the supreme duty of the hour.

We realize that while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money-changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our Legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy.

To restore the government intended by the fathers, and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control by the adoption of the following declaration of principles :

### Finance.

First: We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; also a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

Second: We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

Third: We demand the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business population of this country, and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

Fourth: We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing bond debt made by the present administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and that no more bonds be issued except by specific Act of Congress.

Fifth: We demand such legal legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

Sixth: We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligations, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

Seventh: We demand a graduated income tax,

to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation ; and we denounce the Supreme Court, relative to the income tax, as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

Eighth : We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

### Transportation.

Transportation being a means of exchange and public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

Second : The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof of the debt of the companies, and at the foreclosure sales of

said roads the Government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect the interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate such railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole, and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for the protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests and privileges and equal rates for fares and freight.

Third: We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts, and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their true intent and spirit.

Fourth: The telegraph, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

### Land Monopolies.

First: The true policy demands that the National and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and, therefore, the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes.

All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should, by lawful means, be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only; and private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited.

Second: We condemn the frauds by which the land grant to the Pacific railroad companies have,



through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of equal bona fide settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral land from such grants after as well as before patent.

Third: We demand that bona fide settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the national homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, under proper constitutional safeguards.

### General Propositions.

First: We demand the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Second: We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is and of right ought to be a free and independent State.

Third: We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Fourth: All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

Fifth: In times of great industrial depression,

idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

Sixth: The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling that by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

Seventh: We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

Eighth: Believing that the elective franchise and untrammelled ballot are essential to a Government of, for, and by the people, the People's Party condemn the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some States as unrepubli- can and un- democratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot, and an honest count.

Ninth: While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign upon which the present Presidential election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties, we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

### Nominations.

A strong feeling was developed in the Convention in favor of William J. Bryan, the Democratic nominee of the Chicago Convention, for the first place on the ticket, and there appeared at the same

time much opposition to Arthur Sewall, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President. The Convention decided to nominate a candidate for Vice-President first. After a long and tumultuous session, early on the morning of July 25th, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was declared the nominee for the Vice-Presidency. It was understood that Mr. Bryan wished to retain the name of Sewall on the ticket in the event of his own nomination for first place.

The impending defeat of Sewall led Chairman Jones, of the Democratic National Committee, who had been closely watching the Populists' proceedings, to telegraph to candidate Bryan, who made a definite declaration in reply, that he would not accept the nomination if Sewall was not also named.

The opposition to Sewall practically swamped the Bryan forces at the day session. The leaders were powerless to check the strong feeling against the Bath shipbuilder and banker.

For the first time the "middle-of-the-road" element showed generalship worthy of the name. Recognizing the fact that all hope of defeating Bryan's nomination was lost, they concentrated all their efforts against Sewall. They devised a cunning scheme by which the Convention was forced to nominate the Vice-President before the President.

When the proposition was made to change the

regular order of the nominations, the Bryan men strained every nerve to prevent it. Congressman Skinner, chairman of the North Carolina delegation, cast the solid vote of the State against the change. When the vote was figured up, however, and he ascertained that there was a majority of 26 in favor of the proposition, the vote of the delegation was cast for the proposition, and the antis emerged from the contest with a majority of 170.

This made the defeat of Sewall and the nomination of a Populist for Vice-President practically certain.

William Jennings Bryan was nominated for the Presidency by a vote of 1042 to 321.





THOMAS E. WATSON



# HON. THOMAS E. WATSON:

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Populist Nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

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AT one o'clock A. M., July 25th, 1896, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by the National Convention of Populists at St. Louis. The Convention by a vote of 785 to 615 decided to nominate for this office before making a nomination for the Presidency. A number of candidates were in the field, but the choice finally fell on the Georgia man, and was received by his friends with the usual demonstrations of approval.

Thomas E. Watson is a typical Georgian, thin and angular, with a sharp face, which he keeps clean shaven, and with red hair, which he takes little pains to keep in order. He is nearly 40 years old, having been born on September 5, 1856, in Columbia county, Ga. His home is at Thomson.

After passing through the common schools of his native place he was sent to the Mercer University, at Macon, for a college course, but at the end of his sophomore year he was obliged to leave

for lack of money. For two years thereafter he taught school, and during that time he studied law. Then he entered the office of Judge W. R. McLaws, of Augusta, and after reading law there for a few weeks was admitted to the bar.

He began the practice of law at Thomson in November, 1876, when he was 20 years old. He began very soon to interest himself in politics, and was elected to the Georgia Legislature as a Democrat in 1882, and served for one term. In 1888 he was a Presidential Elector-at-Large on the Democratic ticket. Besides practicing law and politics he is largely interested in farming.

Watson first attracted general attention in the country at large in 1892. He had been elected to the Fifty-second Congress from his home district, beating his Republican opponent, Anthony E. Williams, by a vote of 5,456 to 397. No sooner had Watson taken his seat at Washington as a Democrat than he abandoned his party, refused to enter the caucus, and became the Populist candidate for the Speakership. There were but ten Populist members of the House, and he was not elected.

Watson not long afterward made the expression: "Where was I at?" known all over the English-speaking world by calling attention to the man who said it, and accusing him of being drunk on the floor of the House. The speaker was Mr.

Cobb, of Alabama, and he used the now-famous expression in a debate upon the Noyes-Rockwell election case. Watson's charge was not sustained by the House.

Nevertheless, in the summer of 1892, Mr. Watson repeated the charge, not only against the same member by innuendo, but also as a general one against many members of the House, and brought about his ears a vigorous protest. These charges were part of the "People's Party Campaign Book, 1892," printed, as Watson said in his preface:

"In order that editors, speakers, lecturers and voters might have in the convenient storehouse of one volume all the scattered information now contained in many, and in order that they might have a brief statement of the line of argument which we adopt upon all essential issues."

In this book Watson declared that: "Extravagance has been the order of the day. Absenteeism was never so pronounced. Lack of purpose was never so clear. Lack of common business prudence never more glaring. Drunken members have reeled about the aisles, a disgrace to the republic. Drunken speakers have debated grave issues on the floor, and in the midst of maudlin ramblings have been heard to ask, 'Mr. Speaker, where was I at?' Useless employes crowd every corridor. Useless expenditures pervade every department."

Mr. Wheeler, of Alabama, brought these charges to the attention of the House, and a committee was appointed to look into them.

Watson reiterated the charges in the House and said :

“There is not a charge in this paragraph that has not been made from that press gallery and sent ringing through the newspapers of this land, but now, because I have made it, and because ten of the People’s Party are here, powerless in the grasp of your tyrannical party, you want to select me for a scapegoat—for a martyr to your prejudice.

“I want no matter of grace from this Democratic majority that seeks to hiss me down when I am defending my character here on the floor of the House. Jeffersonian Democracy grants to a man freedom of speech and freedom of press, and if you want to howl me down do it, and I will appeal from your tyranny to the fairer sense of justice that abides in the hearts of the American people. I scorn your grace. I scorn your mercy.”

The committee of investigation consisted of Messrs. Boatner, Wolverton, Buchanan, of Virginia; Grout and Jerry Simpson. The committee heard a number of witnesses, and on August 5, the last day of the session, reported that the charges were false and libelous in the sense in which they were made.

The desertion of his party angered the Democrats of his district, and they put up James C. C. Black, an Augusta lawyer, against Watson at the next election. Watson ran as the candidate of the People's Party. He was beaten by a vote of 17,772 for Black against his 12,332 votes.

In the fall of 1894 Watson ran against Black for the Fifty-fourth Congress. This time he ran as a Populist. It was a campaign of almost unrivaled bitterness. The country was arrayed against the towns, and prejudice and passion were appealed to. Black and Watson held a number of joint debates, and these seemed to increase the excitement.

Watson declared that he was in danger of assassination. He sent out couriers through the country, and summoned his supporters from the different counties of his district. They swarmed into Thomson from all sides, mounted and armed, and camped around his house to protect him from being lynched by the Democrats. Throughout the rest of the campaign Watson carried a rifle whenever he appeared in public. He was beaten in the election by a majority for Black of about 7,000.

Watson then charged that he had been beaten by frauds at the polls, and challenged Black to leave the decision as to who was properly elected to a commission of five, two to be selected by each

candidate, and the fifth by these four, the commission to canvass the votes, and declare who was rightfully elected. Mr. Black replied, showing that no such commission could have any authority, but offering to resign, and leave the matter to a new election.

“I am in no degree responsible for this terrible state of affairs,” Mr. Black wrote, “for I have preached no gospel of bitterness. I have appealed to no prejudice. I have not sought to array the country against the town. I have not taught that there was natural hostility between one set of citizens engaged in one pursuit and others engaged in other pursuits. I have not persuaded one class that they are the victims of another, and lashed them into frenzy at the thought. I have not sought to combine the rich against the poor nor the poor against the rich. I have not conjured up visions of impossible wealth and prosperity and earthly happiness, and maddened the believers in such dreams against their fellow-citizens as conspirators, keeping them out of these utopias, these elysian fields.”

Mr. Black took his place in Congress, as he proposed, and then resigned to give Mr. Watson a chance to beat him if he could. A special election was held, and Watson was decisively defeated. Since that time he has devoted himself principally to the running of a Populist newspaper at Atlanta.



After Mr. Watson's nomination at St. Louis, efforts were made in certain quarters to induce him to resign in favor of Mr. Sewall, Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Watson refused to do so, claiming that his name was needed to maintain the organization of the Populists, and prevent it from going out of existence.

As he has shown great resolution many times in the face of opposition, he can be relied upon to hold his position when he has once taken it.

In all the qualities of a bold and successful leader he has shown himself well equipped. His name is one of strength to his party in Georgia and other parts of the South, and his aggressive spirit has done much toward disseminating the views of the Populists and advancing their cause.

After the action of the Populist Convention at St. Louis, Mr. Watson said :

"We have conceded everything short of the extinction of our party. To go into the national campaign with no Populist on the national ticket disbands the party. The Democratic managers knew this, and they have bent every energy to that end. It is not so much free silver they want as it is the death of the People's Party.

"If they are honestly intent upon free silver legislation, why should they object to the continued existence of the People's Party? Have we not been true to free silver when they were not?

Were we not the only champions of that cause in 1893, when the Democrats were closing the mints and refusing even to coin the Government's own seigniorage?

“Why should the Democratic managers demand of us complete and unconditional surrender? They say we must fuse, but their idea of fusion is that we must play minnow while they play trout; we play Junebug while they play duck; we play Jonah while they play whale.”



Mrs. C. G. Snyder  
Suva  
Hawaii

11/2 1896

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